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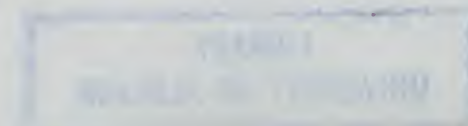
THE HISTORY
OF BLACK AFRICA

VOLUME I

SEVENTH EDITION



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INTRODUCTION

THE HISTORY OF BLACK AFRICA AS A SPECIAL SUBJECT OF STUDY

The purpose of this book is to give an outline of the history of Black Africa, that is to say, of sub-Saharan Africa. The northern border of this part runs approximately along latitude 20° North.

Why has the history of Black Africa been chosen as a special subject of study?

Literature often refers to this part of the African continent as "Negro Africa." We reject this term as unscientific and inaccurate, an expression with a decidedly reactionary, imperialist bias. For the same reason, the use of the word "Negro" by various ethnographers and historians as a general term for the common denomination of the Sudanese and the Bantu peoples as well as the term "Sudanese Negro" are equally inaccurate. The word "Negro" is incorrect in both the theoretical and the practical respect and is, in addition, essentially an insulting nickname. Each people has its own name, yet collectively we may speak of "Sudanese peoples" and "Bantu peoples." No common term is necessary for the denomination of these groups.¹

Another term to avoid is the word "native" which also has a certain connotation of contempt or discrimination. Whether we refer to all peoples of Africa or to the peoples or tribes of a country or an area, it is more correct to use the word "African."

The term "Negro Africa" indicates that this part of Africa is inhabited by dark-coloured people, in contrast to the northern part of the continent where the people's skin is of a lighter shade. It is obviously a reflection of obscurantist race prejudice, implying that race, that is, distinct biological characteristics, and especially the colour of skin as a marked peculiarity of various race groups have an important part to play in history. The term "Negro" implies that the peoples inhabiting Black Africa constitute a racial unity which separates them from, and contrasts them with, the peoples of North Africa who belong to another race. This is tantamount to an ideological weapon used in science and literature for reactionary, imperialist politicians to whitewash imperialist conquests and the oppression of African peoples referred to as the "black race", which in the vocabulary of such authors is synonymous with "lower, inferior race", a race called upon and destined only to serve the white race.

This entire race concept is untenable. There are no "superior" or "inferior" races. The intellectual faculties and moral qualities of any particular human being, as well

¹ The term "Black Africa" is not a fortunate one either. It would seem more appropriate to use the expression "sub-Saharan Africa" common in the English literature. Since, however, the equivalents of this term in other languages are periphrastic and chiefly because the Africans themselves have adopted the denomination "Black Africa" and do not look upon it as an insulting term (very much like the Americans of African origin who have nothing against the term "Negro"), the author sees no objection to using it.

as the national characteristics of peoples, are not determined by racial, or in general biological, qualities but are products of their social and economic development. The historic destinies of peoples are determined, not by the particular anthropological group they belong to, but by their social and economic existence, which in turn is determined by the degree of development of the productive forces. This is why it is unscientific to divide Africa, from the point of view of its history, into two — “Black” and “Northern” (or “Arab”) — parts only because the people’s skin is darker south of the Equator than along the Mediterranean coast.

Furthermore, to speak of a homogeneous “Negro” or “black” race inhabiting Tropical and South Africa is a travesty of the science of anthropology.

First, even with regard to racial characteristics, the “Negroes” of Africa belong to various groups. Here are a few facts. The skin of the Khoi-Khoi (“Hottentots”) and the Saan (“Bushmen”),¹ who live in the south of the continent, is by no means black but yellow. The northern part of Tropical Africa (the Western and Central Sudan) is inhabited by a number of peoples who have nothing in common with the “Negro” race but, on the contrary, are closely related to the peoples of North Africa (Berbers, Tuaregs). The populations of many regions of Central and East Africa include a rather significant Arab element. A principal element of the population of Madagascar is Malayan.

Second, not unlike all the other continents, Africa over thousands of years was the scene of the migrations and merging of a great number of peoples of different races, as a result of which “pure races” exist also there only in the imagination of reactionary anthropologists.²

All this is eloquent proof of the absurdity of discussing “Black Africa” as a special subject of history on the basis of the racial unity attributed to its peoples.

A history of “Black Africa” as such does not exist. What exists are the histories of hundreds of peoples and tribes living in this territory and of a multitude of tribal alliances and state formations created by them in the course of history. There exist also the histories of scores of colonies established by the European invaders. From the anthropological and ethnological points of view a great many African peoples are closely interrelated, while others—though often living in the immediate neighbourhood of one another or even together in one and the same region—are alien to one another racially and ethnically. In one or another period of their history several countries of Tropical and South Africa bore striking similarities as to their economic structures and socio-economic development, while others showed marked dissimilarities. It is the history of each people and each country taken separately that should be a subject of study.

Although “Black Africa” as such (that is, as a territory inhabited by peoples which are bound together by their alleged racial unity) is a fictitious concept, yet we have to study the history of the countries and peoples of this part of Africa as a whole because, with or without racial relationship, the destinies of these countries and peoples were bound together by history itself.

The countries and peoples of North Africa were more or less known already to the ancient world. They played a considerable role in ancient history. In ancient

¹ Literature generally calls the Khoi-Khoi “Hottentots” and the Saan “Bushmen.” Both denominations are derogatory, abusive nicknames given to those peoples by their first “civilized” abusers, and are therefore inadmissible.

² Cf. F. LUSCHAN, *Völker, Rassen, Sprachen* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 9–10; F. RATZEL, *Anthropogeographie*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1899), p. 587; Ch. FÉROT, *Le préjugé des races* (Paris, 1921), pp. 88, 500.

times and during the Middle Ages their whole history was closely related to the history of European and Asiatic countries. In contrast to the latter, the countries of Black Africa remained almost completely *terra incognita* up till the end of the 15th century. The peoples of Europe and Asia had but fragmentary and utterly inaccurate knowledge of even the existence of these countries and a completely foggy notion about the peoples of these parts of Africa. The peoples of Black Africa lived in almost complete isolation from the rest of the world. Apart from a few unsuccessful individual attempts to explore what the ancient and mediaeval world called the “mysterious” continent, and from some commercial intercourse carried on by Arabs, Greeks and others in certain regions of Central Africa and particularly along the east coast, there was no contact whatsoever between the peoples of this vast territory and the outside world. The history of the “civilized” world took its own course, and the “savage” part of Africa went its own way, too. And, regarding those people as “savages”, many historians even refuse its peoples the honour of ranking them among the subjects of the historical process of those times. In nine out of ten general works on ancient and mediaeval history you will find the history of European and Asiatic peoples, and of the peoples of North Africa, but not a single word about the countries and peoples of Black Africa.

Prior to their encounter with Europeans the majority of African peoples still led a primitive, barbaric life, many of them even on the lowest level of barbarism. Some of them lived in complete, or almost complete, isolation; the contacts, if any, of others were but scattered skirmishes with neighbouring peoples. The State, taken in the real sense of the word, was a notion unknown to most African peoples, as classes did not exist there either. Or rather — both existed already, but only in embryo. Therefore it is unrealistic to speak of their “history” — in the scientific sense of the word — before the appearance of the European invaders. More exactly, the study of this early history of the African peoples belongs in the province of ethnography rather than of historical science.

In addition, there are in Tropical and South Africa also peoples who, long before the appearance of Europeans, had their own States with slaveholding or feudal systems at a developed stage or at an initial stage of development. The history of such States reaches back to ancient and mediaeval times. They included Ethiopia, several countries of the Western, Central and Eastern Sudan, and some others. Little of their history has come down to us, and what we do know about it is far less accurate and authentic than the history of the peoples of Europe or North Africa. This is even more true of the early history of the less developed African peoples which, being a sort of no man’s land between history and ethnography, is none the less worth studying and discussing.

Two general features are characteristic of both the more developed and the less developed countries of Black Africa, viz.: (1) their isolation from the outside world in ancient and early mediaeval times, and (2) the scarcity and questionable reliability of our knowledge of their ancient and mediaeval history. These two features justify us in discussing the ancient and mediaeval history of all the countries and peoples of Black Africa together, as a complex of countries which at that time had definitely similar historical conditions, different from those of other countries, including even the countries of North Africa, which therefore have to be dealt with separately.

Conditions in Black Africa changed as a consequence of the intrusion of Europeans. Some countries and peoples came into contact with Europeans, while others remained isolated a long while. A growing number of countries entered the stage of authen-

tic history. From the 15th or the 16th century onwards, more or less reliable written sources are available on a number of countries. Thus, as regards the two aforementioned general features, the countries of Tropical and South Africa cease to present a complex of countries living under similar conditions. But even regardless of these two common features, there appears a new fact which links those people still closer together — the penetration of foreign capital. In the beginning (16th to 18th centuries) the Europeans launched predatory raids in search of slaves and gold, and minor partial conquests were made. In the 19th century there followed campaigns of conquest, systematic seizures of territories, and wars between the conquerors for the parcelling out of the entire territory of Tropical and Black Africa. Foreign invaders subjugated all countries and peoples of this part of Africa one after another. The historical destinies of these countries are thus essentially the same; the events of the wars and campaigns of conquest, as well as the events in the development and the struggle of the various African peoples, intermingled in tens and thousands of places.

As concerns the age of imperialism, the historical destinies of North Africa (as of any colonial country) are again essentially the same. The imperialists' colonial wars enveloped the whole world. But the specific character of the early history of Black Africa, and the conditions created by this early history, left their mark also on the subsequent history of these countries, on their position and development under the imperialist yoke.

The foregoing justifies our method and explains the necessity for a discussion of the history of Black Africa as that of a complex of countries bound together by the same historical destiny of their peoples — as against the completely groundless and wrong concept about "Black Africa" being a territory held together by the alleged racial unity of its inhabitants.

TASKS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

A study of the history of Black Africa is of great scientific and political importance.

1. In ancient times the history of one part of humanity could flow in isolation from the other. However, with the entry into the historic arena of world capitalism, particularly of its highest stage — imperialism —, the history of mankind became one single process. For long centuries already prior to imperialism the events of the histories of all the peoples of the globe were more or less interlinked. By the 19th century not a single country had been left outside the universal stream of human history reaching its modern stage — world capitalism.

Beginning with the great geographical discoveries of the 15th century onwards, the history of Black Africa has been an integral part of the history of the rise and growth of world capitalism.

The history of a whole cannot be fully elucidated and understood without fully comprehending the history of all its parts. The history, say, of the rise of capitalism in Europe, the history of the primitive accumulation of capital, cannot be grasped without a full understanding of the role of Africa in that primitive accumulation. The history of the rise and growth of industrial capitalism in Europe and America cannot be comprehended without a survey of the colonial policies and colonial activities of industrial capital at that time, particularly in Africa.

Therefore, the history of Black Africa should, first of all, be approached as part of general historical science. Nevertheless, as regards authentic historical science,

it is no exaggeration to say that this part of general historical science is one of its most neglected chapters.

There exists a rather rich literature on African history. But the scientific value and reliability of the large majority of the works on African history are highly questionable, since most authors, instead of investigating and analyzing the actual socio-economic forces of historical development, endeavour to distract attention from these questions. On the one hand, they mainly delve into obscure and unexplained (and sometimes even inexplicable) questions which have hardly anything to do with the burning problems of our age (*e.g.*, origin of the "Negroes"; the mystery of the ruins of Zimbabwe,¹ etc.). On the other hand, they investigate secondary, superficial occurrences (such as the lives and deeds of certain colonizers, military commanders, etc.). And while examining the really essential features of the past economic and historical development, many authors resort to common distortion. They falsify historical facts, presenting them to the advantage of capitalism with a view to justifying past and present policies of colonial oppression and exploitation. Almost the whole of existing literature on African history is a direct or indirect apologia of imperialism. The only difference between the various authors of works on African history is that some exonerate British imperialism, others German imperialism, etc.; again some try to justify this method of conquest and exploitation, and others that method. But almost all historical "studies" of Africa are characterized by a deliberate purpose, advancing the point of view of the foreign oppressors.

African historical science has a twofold task to solve:

(a) First of all, it has to create a way out of the maze of imperialist falsehood and hypocrisy, investigate and uncover the surreptitious lies and intentional distortions of reactionary historians;

(b) at the same time it has to select the morsels of truth carefully concealed in this maze, bring them to light, assemble them into a coherent picture of reality, analyze this reality, and draw the proper lessons from it.

2. A study of the history of Black Africa is of particular importance in view of the fact that it brilliantly substantiates and most vividly illustrates a whole series of theses maintained by Marx, Lenin and Stalin in the field of historical science (*e.g.*: the doctrine of Marx on primitive accumulation; the Leninist teaching about the colonial policies of pre-imperialistic and imperialistic capitalism; the teaching of Stalin about the origin of nations and of the national problems, etc.).

3. In addition to this twofold scientific significance, a study of African history is vital from the historiological and political points of view. This lies in the fact that the scientific ascertainment of historical facts lays an objective foundation for unmasking the monstrous historic crimes (the horrible brutalities, outrageous frauds and unparalleled provocations) committed by world capitalism over long centuries, from the time when it was still in the womb of its mother — feudalism.

Characteristic examples are such episodes of African history as the Portuguese massacre of the Khoi-Khoi tribes at the Cape of Good Hope early in the 16th century,² the extermination by German butchers of tens of thousands of Hereros and of more than a hundred thousand aborigines of East Africa in 1905—07³, or the stories about the falsification of treaties concluded by France with Madagascar⁴ in 1886 and by Italy with Ethiopia in 1889.⁵

¹ See p. 60

² See p. 173—174.

³ See vol. ii, ch. 6.

⁴ See p. 396

⁵ See p. 363

For the peoples of present-day Africa, whether still oppressed and struggling for liberation or already independent, as well as for the world proletariat of our time, an objective, scientific study of African history is a political document, a part of the bill which they will in due time present to their adversary and debtor, contemporary world imperialism, successor to the slave dealers, the invaders and butchers of the African peoples from the 15th to 19th centuries.

4. Finally, the study and mastery of the history of Africa has great political significance from another point of view as well. It can and must enrich the experience of African peoples in their present and future struggles against imperialism, for freedom and national independence. To fulfil this task, it is necessary, while studying the different historical periods of each African country and African people, to gather and analyse most carefully any material and any slightest detail, flimsy as they may be, about the history of the resistance and liberation struggles of the African peoples, and, relying on the facts verified in this way, to deduce, set forth and analyse the positive and negative lessons of these struggles.

THREE WRONG WAYS OF APPROACH TO AFRICAN HISTORY

In the general works on African history we can observe different approaches to this topic. The various authors investigate, study and discuss the history of Africa from different aspects. We can note three wholly distinct ways of approach to the general history of Africa.

Most historians treat Africa from the angle of the European colonizers; they study and discuss, in fact, not the history of African countries and peoples, but only the chronicle of the conquest and colonization of Africa by the European powers. In doing so, some of them subdivide this history according to colonial empires ("The Portuguese in Africa", "History of the British Colonies in Africa", etc.).¹ Here belong also all general works on the history of internecine wars waged by the great powers for the partition of Africa. Others treat African history according to contemporary colonial entities or groups ("History of Nigeria", "History of British West Africa", etc.).² And, finally, there were attempts to deal with African history by taking each African people and State separately.³

All three ways of approach are wrong.

1. First and foremost, *African history is not identical with the history of the conquest and colonization of Africa.*

(a) As we have already seen, some of the African countries had their own history prior to the appearance of the Europeans.

(b) Even in the slave trade period, at the beginning of European intrusion into many regions, the majority of the African peoples remained unaffected by the invasions. Prior to that period many such peoples did not emerge from their primitive conditions, did not cross the threshold of development between classless society and class society. Their history in that and the preceding period belongs in the province of ethnography. But during those centuries there were also countries where classless society had already greatly disintegrated and where a slaveholding or feudal State

was in full development (retaining, of course, lots of vestiges of primitive communism). Besides Ethiopia and the countries of the Sudan, these included the Wahuma States, Ashanti, etc. The peoples of these countries already in that period had their own history, which was completely isolated from the history of the European powers and colonialism. The history of these African peoples is completely omitted from the above-mentioned first two approaches.

(c) As regards the historical record of African peoples who came into contact with European conquerors, either in the age of primitive accumulation or in that of industrial capitalism, it is inadmissible to present their history like an epitome of their subjugation. Nevertheless, the history of colonial empires or colonial entities is written with little or no regard to events not directly related to the history of their encounters with the Europeans.

For these reasons alone the first two ways of approach are wrong. A history of the conquest and colonization of Africa does not give us a complete picture of the history of African peoples and countries.

2. As regards works which discuss each African people and country separately, we come up against another shortcoming. When treating the history of individual African peoples and countries, those books describe, as a matter of course, also the history of their conquest. But the conquest of the several peoples and countries was not an unrelated event. The history of this conquest cannot be understood unless it is placed in the general context of the aggressive acts, in a given period, of a certain European power in the whole of Africa and, first of all, in the region (west, south, etc.) where the country concerned is situated. What is more, the seizure of each country, the subjugation of each people, took place at a time when the European invaders were fighting one against the other. The rule of a certain European power over an African country was eventually established following prolonged conflicts, rivalries, negotiations, agreements, etc., between different imperialist powers. That is why it is impossible to separate the history of any single country from the general history of the conquest of Africa, which should embrace the strategic and diplomatic warfare among the colonial powers themselves. It is possible to write a monograph about the history of a single people or country if the interrelations between the conquest of the given country and universal history are elucidated, yet for a general study of the history of Black Africa such an approach is inadequate, as it inevitably leads to interminable cross-references and repetitions.

3. The first two ways of approach are ruled out (in addition to the above considerations) also by the necessity of discussing the history of the conquest of each country and each region in the general context of the power struggles for the conquest and partitioning of Africa and the subjugation of African peoples. Here are a few examples. As to the first approach (discussion according to conquerors), the power struggle for the Gold Coast should be discussed in at least four places (in the history of Portuguese, Dutch, British and French colonization). As to the second approach (discussion according to present-day colonial entities), the power struggle for the partition of West Africa ought to be dealt with by piecemeal, in at least 16 places (in the history of the conquest of each West African colony). It is obvious that such a discussion, instead of giving an idea of the internecine warfare between the great powers, creates an impression of complete chaos.

¹ See H. H. JOHNSTON, *A History of Colonization of Africa by Alien Races* (Cambridge, 1913).

² See C. P. LUCAS, *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1894—1906; rev. ed. 1913).

³ See "Afrika," by Heinrich SCHURTZ, in vol. iii of HELMOLT's *Weltgeschichte* (Leipzig—Vienna, 1901).

THE PROPER APPROACH

What, then, is the proper way of approach to African history?

It should be clear-cut about

1. the history of each African people and of each African country taken separately;
2. the history of each colonial entity taken separately;
3. the history of the colonial policies and colonial activities pursued in Africa by each of the European powers;
4. the internecine struggle between the great powers.

Such a combination can, and undoubtedly will, be achieved only if the history of Africa is studied and discussed *period by period, according to those regions which were the actual scenes of that history.*

To divide the history of Africa on the basis of colonial empires, African colonies, peoples and countries results in an abstract division. The European powers conquered their African colonies, not each individually, not in isolation from one another, but in the course of perpetual internecine strifes. Historical events cannot be related to the individual colonial countries of the 20th century (most of them did not even exist before the end of the 19th century), nor to the existing African States of that time. It would be impossible to speak of any power struggle for the seizure and partition of "Nigeria", as the country at present known as Nigeria emerged only after the British had seized its entire territory and established themselves there by international agreements. The powers vying for possession of this territory did not know of any "Nigeria", and the struggle was waged for the entire territory of West Africa, not for what is now known as Nigeria.

The African continent was in each historical period divided into distinct and different regions by the course of historical events.

Let us take for example the countries of West and Central Equatorial Africa.

(a) In the period of the slave trade the Portuguese invasion of West Equatorial Africa was already proceeding, while Central Equatorial Africa was still virgin land to foreign conquerors; in fact, in that period West and Central Equatorial Africa belonged to two typically different scenes of the drama of history.

(b) Their history in the period of transition from industrial capitalism to imperialism was closely interconnected, since the struggle of the imperialist powers had melted them into one object of contention. Apart from the differences in the past of these two regions and the different degrees of development of their various districts, the imperialists fought for the seizure and partition of the "Equatorial provinces." As to that period, these regions should be taken as belonging to the same historical sector.

(c) Finally, when their seizure and partition had been completed, the various portions of West and Central Equatorial Africa became parts of different colonial empires. The fate of the Belgian (Leopoldian) Congo is one matter, the fate of the territories seized by the French is another; completely different from them is the situation in those territories that have remained in the hands of the Portuguese, etc. In the age of imperialism, not only is there no longer a single "West and Central Equatorial Africa", but it is impossible to regard either West or Central Equatorial Africa as a separate sector. On the other hand, the destinies of the colonies of each European power in Equatorial Africa are connected with the destinies of other colonies of the given power.

Let us take another example: Darfur. Until the end of the 18th century it evidently belonged, together with the other countries of the Central Sudan, to the group of

independent countries still untouched by Europeans. In the 19th century, unlike the other countries of this group, it shared the destinies of the Eastern Sudan.

The foregoing leads to the following conclusions:

1. In studying and discussing African history we have to divide this history by setting out, first of all, from the different historical epochs, not from the different geographical areas (whatever the criterion that differentiates them);

2. with regard to each epoch we have to determine how the essential character of that epoch, the events themselves, broke up Africa into different regions, creating in the different parts of the continent different conditions which exercised their effect throughout a given period but ceased to be effective when that epoch came to an end;

3. within these historical regions, each of which includes a number of countries and peoples, we have to retain the delimitations between the individual countries and peoples as they actually existed in that epoch. After considering the general features of the historical development of a given region as a whole in a given epoch (or period), we must proceed to study the history of each State (African or colonial) of that region in the given period, or (in those areas where no States existed at that time) to record the facts about the conditions and movements of each people and tribe that inhabited that region in the given period.

DIVISION INTO PERIODS OF AFRICAN HISTORY

I. As has been said already, our more or less reliable knowledge of the history of Black Africa dates only from the late 15th century, the time of the first European intrusions. All that preceded this (the moulding and migrations of African peoples, the history of their tribal alliances and the like, attempts by European, Arab and other peoples to explore and to trade with Africa) represents the first great period in the history of Black Africa. The end of this period is marked by the discoveries made by the Portuguese who paved the way for the intrusion of other European nations.

II. A landmark that ushered in a new era was the discovery of America in 1492, which substantially changed the character of the European invasion that had already begun in the 15th century. Until the end of the 15th century the Portuguese were the only Europeans on the African coast, their activities in Africa being confined to occasional visits and trading. In the 16th century other powers (Britain, Holland, France) also made their appearance, and their struggles both with the African peoples and with one another commenced. Meanwhile their visits to the coasts of Africa became more or less systematic. In the 15th century Portuguese trade with Africa was chiefly in spices and gold. The discovery of America and the setting up of European colonies there brought the slave trade to the fore. The European countries were passing through the age of primitive accumulation, and for that purpose they turned Africa into "a warren for the commercial hunting for black-skins" (Marx). During three centuries (from the 16th to the 18th) Black Africa was the target of the slave trade. Although this trade affected only certain regions of the continent directly, to some degree or other it influenced also countries of inner Africa where no European had ever set foot before. The age of primitive accumulation, which is for Africa the period of the slave trade, is the second great period in the history of Black Africa.

III. In the slave trade period (up to the end of the 18th century) the sole purpose of the European invasion of Africa was to trade, first in slaves, then in gold, ivory

and spices. With the rise of industrial capitalism in Europe the colonial policy of the European powers changed. They had become interested, not only in the objects of profitable business, but in the resources of industrial raw materials and food products as well as in potential markets for their manufactured goods. In line with this their purposes and aspirations in Africa altered. Up to the late 18th century they had contented themselves with occupying certain coast lands with a view to setting up their trading stations, provision depots and military bases. From the late 18th century onwards they began to seize larger territories also in the interior to dispose over more abundant raw material sources and potential markets. There began the systematic seizure of African territories which, on the one hand, gave rise to the resistance and liberation struggles of the African peoples, but which, on the other hand, led to conflicts between European powers, to more intensive competition for bigger and better spoils. By the end of the 19th century this twofold struggle terminated in the seizure and partitioning of all the lands of Black Africa, in the conquest and subjugation of all peoples and countries in that part of the continent. The epoch of conquest and partitioning, which began approximately at the time of the outbreak of the Great French Revolution and closed with the end of the 19th century, constitutes the third great stage in the history of Black Africa.

This third stage includes the entire period of industrial capitalism as well as the period of transition from industrial capitalism to monopoly capitalism, that is, imperialism. Within this stage three periods can and must be distinguished:

1. The first one lasted until the middle of the 19th century. It was the period of slow expansion by the European invaders, mainly by adding to their possessions along the coast, and the period of preparation for great conquests in the interior areas through explorations organized directly by the governments of European powers.

2. From the mid-century onwards began the second period: the intruders penetrated deep into the continent, switching from the extension of their existing possessions to the conquest of new territories which were still open to seizure, and here clashes with one another became more and more frequent. But expansion was still comparatively slow, for the interior areas were only partly explored. Territorial expansion was accompanied by a feverish race to send expeditions into the yet unexplored parts of the continent. European penetration into the depth of the continent and the territorial seizures increased, and so did the resistance of the African peoples. This second period, which constitutes that of direct preparation for the final conquest and partitioning of all Africa, lasted from 1848—50 to about the late seventies.

3. The third, closing, period of the stage of conquest and partition is the period of the completion of the seizure of all Africa by the imperialists, that of desperate power struggles for the final partitioning of the continent. It began in the late seventies (for certain regions in the early eighties) and all but terminated by the end of the 19th century (in different years for the different regions), thus coinciding with the period of transition of world capitalism to imperialism. There are still other phases within this period, but they alternate differently in the different regions. There are regions where the sequence is the following: (a) imperialists seize one part of the region; (b) failing to conquer the territory definitively, they arrange to delimit it among themselves, and (c) by this agreement they start the final conquest. (The countries of French West Africa can serve as an example.) In other regions the imperialists come to an agreement only after the final conquest (e.g.: the Eastern Sudan). Again in others, the imperialists divide quite intact territories among themselves in advance (e.g.: the interior areas of East Equatorial Africa).

With the imperialists' switch from individual seizures to general campaigns of conquest went the over-all unfolding of the liberation struggle of African peoples. It is no exaggeration to say that during the last two decades of the 19th century the whole of Black Africa constituted one compact nucleus of the African peoples' defensive wars and emancipatory uprisings.

What has been said about the different periods of the process of the conquest and partitioning of Africa clearly shows the groundlessness of the generally accepted view that the conquest and partitioning of Africa as a whole took place in the last quarter of the 19th century.¹

African historians like to compare the map of Africa from 1875 to that from 1900. In the first map almost the whole of Tropical and South Africa is a blank space, with an infinitesimal strip showing the coast lands occupied by Europeans; on the other map, however, all Africa is divided up among the European powers.² Of course, these maps are accurate and very interesting. They do not disclose, however, the actual historical process, for the first of them indicates only the already finally occupied territories, but it shows neither the increasing expansionism and the ever more frequent aggressive attempts of the European powers in the first three quarters of the 19th century, nor the stages of gradual preparation for final conquests through official expeditions, religious missions, etc. organized by different governments.

IV. At the turn of the century Africa entered a new stage of its history — the age of imperialism. This stage has to be divided into three periods:

1. The first one which lasted until the end of World War I is, for the African colonies, the period of the consolidation of imperialist domination and that of the final subjugation of the African peoples, the period in which the European powers organized in their possessions the colonial regime, political oppression and economic exploitation. In some of the colonies the African agricultural population was rapidly dispossessed of its land, while in others the peasants were subjected to feudal exploitation and exploitation through trade. In certain colonies (e.g., Nigeria, the Ivory Coast) the completion of the conquest launched in the 19th century continued in the form of wars of conquest and punitive expeditions against the Africans ("pacification"). In several colonies, where the imperialist rule had been definitively established already in the 19th century, the struggle of the African peoples assumed a new form: there took place the first anti-imperialist uprisings and there appeared the first buds of a conscious and organized national liberation movement.

2. World War I and the Great Socialist Revolution in Russia opened a new period for Africa. The general crisis of world capitalism told sensibly on the economies of the African colonies and wrought big changes in the colonial policies pursued by the imperialist powers in their African possessions, changes which consisted essentially in an unprecedented intensification of the exploitation and national oppression of the African masses held in semislavery. The ruin of the colonial peasant masses assumed unparalleled proportions. The influence of the Great Russian Revolution, and of the national liberation movements in other countries (China, Turkey, Iran), because of the increasing destitution and misery of the African masses, provoked and helped to develop in many African countries the anti-imperialist national liberation movements, the creation, in a number of countries, of the first workers' organiza-

¹ E.g.: According to SCHURTZ the struggle for the partition of Africa began in 1876 (*op. cit.*, p. 464), according to H. JOHNSTON in 1881 (*op. cit.*, p. 442), and according to N. D. HARRIS in 1880 (see N. D. HARRIS, *Intervention and Colonization in Africa* [New York, 1914], p. 2).

² See, for example, the maps in the afore-mentioned book of HARRIS (pp. 16 and 356).

tions, and the birth, in one of the South African countries — the Union of South Africa — of an extensive labour movement.

3. During World War II no considerable changes occurred in the status of the countries of Black Africa (except that Ethiopia regained her independence in 1941, and the former Italian colonies, Somaliland and Eritrea, were placed under British military control). In the war years the economic exploitation of the African peoples, rather than diminishing, went on increasing. Political and national oppression did not lessen either, but the colonizers felt compelled to make some minor concessions in this field (administrative reforms, etc.) to stimulate the African peoples' war effort, and they had to promise explicitly to introduce, once the war was over, important political reforms that would enable the African peoples to prepare for independence. These reforms and promises, on the one hand, and the social changes effected by the development of the war economy (the numerical growth of the working class and, in certain countries, the rise of African bourgeois strata), on the other, greatly contributed, already during the war, to the awakening of the national consciousness and the desire for independence of the African masses. The war years constituted, therefore, a transition period in the history of Black Africa, preparatory to the new period that was to follow the end of the war.

After World War II, in the new period of the general crisis of capitalism, African history also entered a new period: the stage of the disintegration and final collapse of the colonial system, the achievement of freedom and independence by the African peoples suffering under imperialist yoke. The social changes that survived after the war in the African countries, as well as the shift in the balance of forces on a world scale, awakened the consciousness of millions of Africans and brought them into action.

The national liberation movements spread rapidly. The aim of the struggle now is not merely to lessen colonial oppression and exploitation, but to abolish colonial domination definitively, to achieve freedom for the African peoples, the independence and sovereignty of their countries. The imperialist colonizers, incapable of keeping in check the masses awakened to consciousness, are compelled by the shift in the balance of forces to retreat to a certain extent. Without changing the substance of their colonial policies, they change strategy and tactics. Under pressure of the African liberation movements and of world public opinion, they feel compelled to throw overboard their former policies of holding the African peoples in colonial subjugation. In view of the new conditions, they try to replace the brutality of overt political oppression with more refined methods of political influence disguised as "democracy" and to switch from the obvious plundering of the wealth of the economically less developed colonial countries to more indirect methods of economic exploitation. In order to preserve at least their remaining colonies, they endeavour to stifle the liberation movements of the peoples of the colonial countries. But all their efforts are in vain, because the march of history cannot be halted. During the 20 years following the end of World War II (until the summer of 1965), 32 out of the 46 colonies in Black Africa won independence and sovereignty, and among the remaining 15 colonies there is not a single one whose peoples are not determined to wage to the end the battle for their liberation from colonial oppression, for their independence and national sovereignty.

V. The newly independent countries of Black Africa enter an entirely new stage of their history. Although they greatly differ in the nature and the degree of independence, (in a number of African countries the imperialist colonizers have temporarily more or less succeeded in maintaining vestiges of their colonial domination),

even the most imperfect independence means great strides ahead on the road towards complete independence.

This new historical stage, when independent and sovereign States emerge in Africa, began at different times for the different countries of Black Africa. The first country to cross the threshold of this new stage was the Republic of the Sudan in 1956; in the meantime up to the latest one, Gambia, in February 1965, altogether 30 countries embarked upon this road; the others will reach only later, at different dates, this most important milestone of their history. It follows from the foregoing that the last chapter of the history of Black Africa, which is the first in the history of the newly independent States, does not include the history of all countries of Black Africa, but only of those which have already become independent, a history beginning at a different date for each of them.* Therefore the history of Black Africa has to be divided as follows:

- I. Black Africa prior to the European invasion from ancient times through the Middle Ages until the end of the 15th century.
- II. The slave trade period (16th to 18th centuries).
- III. The epoch of the conquest and partitioning of Black Africa (19th century).
 - (a) First period (approximately from 1789 to 1850).
 - (b) Second period (approximately from 1850 to the late seventies).
 - (c) Third period (approximately from the late seventies to 1900).
- IV. Black Africa under the yoke of imperialism.
 - (a) The period before and during World War I (from the partitioning of Africa until the end of the war) (1900 to 1918).
 - (b) The period between the two wars (1918 to 1939).
 - (c) World War II and the disintegration of the colonial system:
 1. the position and role of Black Africa during World War II;
 2. the collapse of the colonial system in Black Africa.
- V. The first steps of the newly independent African countries.

As can be seen, apart from negligible divergences our division into periods roughly coincides with that applied to world history. Therefore, despite the fact that the decisive period of African history lasted from the late seventies through the early eighties (not the early seventies), we consider it more expedient to retain the general division into periods (1789—1870—1900—1918—1939—1945) so as to bring our subject in line with other historical topics.

DIVISION OF BLACK AFRICA INTO HISTORICAL REGIONS

I. While studying the history of the peoples of Black Africa *prior to the European invasion*, we have to proceed from the regions settled by those peoples, and thus we shall divide the entire territory into five parts:

1. The Western and Central Sudan: territory of the *Sudanese* peoples.
2. The southern half of the continent: territory of the *Bantu*.
3. The northeast region: territory inhabited mainly by *Hamitic* and *Semitic* peoples.

* The modern history of those countries of Black Africa which to this day still live under the yoke of colonialism is treated in Chapter IV (c) 2, included in the age of imperialism. The history of two countries of Black Africa, which had been independent States before the age of imperialism and whose relations with the imperialist colonizers have remained unchanged since World War II (Ethiopia, Liberia), is also a subject discussed in Chapter IV (c) 2.

4. The southwest region: territory of the *Khoi-Khoi* and the *Saan*.
5. Madagascar: territory occupied by *Malayo-Polynesian* peoples (partly mixed with Bantus).

II. In the slave trade period the turn of events in Black Africa clearly outlines two main zones: (a) the regions invaded by foreigners, that is, mainly the coastal zone and islands, and (b) the regions that remained isolated from the outside world, that is, the interior of the continent.

(a) In the zone of foreign invasion we distinguish six districts:

1. *The western littoral*, where already in this epoch there was bitter rivalry between the European powers.

2—3—4. *The lower Guinea coast* (the Congo and Angola), *the southeastern and eastern littoral*, and *Ethiopia*, which were the scenes of intrusion chiefly on the part of the Portuguese and of their struggles with the African peoples and the rivalling colonizers (the Dutch in Angola and on the southeast coast, the Arabs on the eastern littoral, the Turks on the east coast and in Ethiopia).

5. *The South African coast lands*, which in the first half of that period (until 1652) were only visited by Europeans, but which in the latter half were the scenes of Dutch colonization.

6. *Madagascar*, which in that period was the target of many unsuccessful colonizing attempts on the part of a number of European powers, first of all, France.

(b) In the zone free of European penetration we have to distinguish four groups of countries and regions, taking into account how far they remained untouched by the Europeans and how much we know about their past history:

1. *The countries of the Sudan* (Western, Central and Eastern), about whose history in the given period some written documents are extant (Arabic chronicles).

As to the history of the other peoples and countries of the continent's interior, we either have no information at all, or we have only fragmentary and hardly reliable information from African legends and stories. To these belong:

2. *The countries of West Africa situated between the littoral and the Western Sudan* (Ashanti, Dahomey, Benin, etc.).
3. *The Wahuma States*.
4. *Other countries and peoples of the interior part of Africa*.

III. In the epoch of conquest and partitioning the entire history of Black Africa was characterized by foreign intrusions and power struggles for the division of the territory. The second zone, the one which had remained untouched by Europeans, was gradually dwindling. True, many African countries fell prey to European invasion only in the third period of this epoch. But, in most cases, preparations for their seizure were made as early as the first half of the 19th century. Besides, the very existence of those African countries which in the first half — or even at the close — of the 19th century still remained actually beyond the reach of the Europeans was noticeably influenced by events that took place in the neighbouring countries invaded by Europeans. Therefore, in dealing with the history of this epoch, we have to set out from that division into regions of Black Africa which was created by the invaders themselves when they waged campaigns of conquest and internecine struggles. In view of this we have to distinguish the following regions:

1. *West Africa* (including both the western littoral and the Western Sudan countries).
2. *East Africa* (including the eastern littoral between the Rowuma river and 4°N. lat., as well as the interior areas of Equatorial Africa bordering upon this littoral. The western border of this region is the line running along lakes Nyasa, Tanganyika, Kivu, Edward and Albert).

3. *West and Central Equatorial Africa* (including the countries of the lower Guinea coast and the interior countries of the Congo basin).

4. *South Africa* (including the whole part of the continent lying south of 10°S. lat., except Angola).

5. *The Eastern Sudan* (including Darfur).

6. *Ethiopia* (together with the Somali countries).

7. *Madagascar*.

IV. After the partitioning of Africa among the imperialist powers our division must, of course, conform to this actual partition, that is, in discussing the modern history of African countries we have to proceed from the actually existing colonial empires and from the individual colonial entities. (See the table showing the division of the countries of Black Africa after the partitioning of the whole continent: on pp. 30—32, first column.)

After World War I this division underwent certain changes:

(a) The German colonies were eliminated and went over to the corresponding column of other colonial empires.

(b) Instead of the "British East Africa Protectorate" there appeared "Kenya", and the "Territory of the British South Africa Company" was replaced by "Southern and Northern Rhodesia."

(c) Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which prior to World War I were regarded as parts of British South Africa, after the war were considered by the British themselves to be parts of British East Africa, and their further destinies were closely connected with Great Britain's other East African possessions. (See the table showing the division of the countries of Black Africa after World War I: on pp. 30—32, second column.)

After World War II new changes were to be taken into account.

(a) The former "mandated territories" (Cameroons, Togoland, Tanganyika, Ruanda-Urundi, South West Africa) as well as the former Italian colonies (Eritrea and Somaliland) that became "trust territories", after World War II (under the "trusteeship" of the former colonial powers responsible for their administration) can no longer be counted among the possessions of the colonial powers, because the Trusteeship System is of a strictly provisional nature, the achievement of the independence of such countries being but a matter of time, and because the activities of the administering power are under the permanent supervision of the United Nations. Practically speaking, the "trust territories" are still colonies, but colonies of a new, special type. The development of these territories following World War II is thus to be examined and discussed separately, with due regard to their particular position.

(b) After World War II we cannot speak any longer about "British South Africa" as a group of British colonies. After the British Commonwealth of Nations came into being, the Union of South Africa ceased to be a British possession ("dominion"); as an equal member of the Commonwealth, it became a sovereign State. Southwest Africa, formerly a mandated territory, became a trust territory.¹ The fate of Southern Rhodesia, which had earlier been considered part of British South Africa, was linked by the British colonizers to the fate of two of their other colonies (Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland), formerly parts of British East Africa. All that is left of former British South Africa are three British protectorates (Basutoland,

¹ Although the Union of South Africa regards this territory as its own province, and while the International Court of Justice continues to consider it a mandated territory, according to the Charter of the United Nations this territory ought to be recognized as trust territory.

Bechuanaland and Swaziland). At the same time a new group of British colonies was created: "British Central Africa" (Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland). (See the table showing the division of the countries of Black Africa after World War II: on pp. 30—32, third column.)

DIVISION OF THE COUNTRIES OF BLACK AFRICA

AFTER THE PARTITIONING OF AFRICA	AFTER WORLD WAR I	AFTER WORLD WAR II
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BRITISH POSSESSIONS

<i>British West Africa</i>	<i>British West Africa</i>	<i>British West Africa</i>
1. Gambia	1. Gambia	1. Gambia
2. Sierra Leone	2. Sierra Leone	2. Sierra Leone
3. Gold Coast	3. Gold Coast	3. Gold Coast
4. Nigeria	4. Togoland mandated territory	4. Nigeria
	5. Nigeria	
	6. Cameroons mandated territory	
<i>British East Africa</i>	<i>British East Africa</i>	<i>British East Africa</i>
1. British East Africa Protectorate	1. Kenya	1. Kenya
2. Uganda	2. Uganda	2. Uganda
3. Zanzibar	3. Tanganyika mandated territory	3. Zanzibar
	4. Zanzibar	
	5. Nyasaland	
	6. Northern Rhodesia	
<i>British South Africa</i>	<i>British South Africa</i>	<i>British protectorates in South Africa</i>
1. Union of South Africa	1. Union of South Africa	1. Basutoland
2. Protectorates: Basutoland Swaziland Bechuanaland	2. Southwest Africa mandated territory	2. Bechuanaland
3. Territory of the British South Africa Company	3. Protectorates: Basutoland Swaziland Bechuanaland	3. Swaziland
4. British Central Africa (Nyasaland)	4. Southern Rhodesia	
<i>Anglo-Egyptian Sudan British Somaliland</i>	<i>Anglo-Egyptian Sudan British Somaliland</i>	<i>British Central Africa</i>
		1. Southern Rhodesia
		2. Northern Rhodesia
		3. Nyasaland
<i>Anglo-Egyptian Sudan British Somaliland</i>	<i>Anglo-Egyptian Sudan British Somaliland</i>	<i>Anglo-Egyptian Sudan British Somaliland</i>

FRENCH POSSESSIONS

<i>French West Africa</i>	<i>French West Africa</i>	<i>French West Africa</i>
1. Senegal	1. Senegal	1. Senegal
2. Upper Senegal and Niger	2. French Sudan	2. French Sudan
3. Mauritania	3. Mauritania	3. Mauritania
4. French Guinea	4. French Guinea	4. French Guinea
5. Ivory Coast	5. Ivory Coast	5. Ivory Coast
6. Dahomey	6. Dahomey	6. Dahomey
7. Upper Volta	7. Upper Volta	7. Upper Volta
8. Niger military territory	8. Niger colony	8. Niger colony
	9. Togoland mandated territory	
<i>French Equatorial Africa</i>	<i>French Equatorial Africa</i>	<i>French Equatorial Africa</i>
1. Gabon	1. Gabon	1. Gabon
2. Central Congo	2. Central Congo	2. Central Congo
3. Ubangi-Shari	3. Ubangi-Shari	3. Ubangi-Shari
4. Chad	4. Chad	4. Chad
	5. Cameroons mandated territory	
<i>Madagascar and other islands</i>	<i>Madagascar and other islands</i>	<i>Madagascar and other islands</i>
<i>French Somaliland</i>	<i>French Somaliland</i>	<i>French Somaliland</i>

GERMAN POSSESSIONS

1. Cameroons	—	—
2. Togoland	—	—
3. South West Africa	—	—
4. German East Africa	—	—

BELGIAN POSSESSIONS

<i>State of the Congo (or Congo Free State)</i>	1. Belgian Congo	Belgian Congo
	2. Ruanda-Urundi mandated territory	

PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS

1. Portuguese Guinea	1. Portuguese Guinea	1. Portuguese Guinea
2. Cape Verde Islands	2. Cape Verde Islands	2. Cape Verde Islands

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 3. São Tomé and
Príncipe Islands | 3. São Tomé and
Príncipe Islands | 3. São Tomé and
Príncipe Islands |
| 4. Angola | 4. Angola | 4. Angola |
| 5. Moçambique | 5. Moçambique | 5. Moçambique |

SPANISH POSSESSIONS

- | | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Rio de Oro
Spanish Guinea | Rio de Oro
Spanish Guinea | Rio de Oro
Spanish Guinea |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|

ITALIAN POSSESSIONS

- | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|---|
| 1. Italian Somaliland | 1. Italian Somaliland | — |
| 2. Eritrea | 2. Eritrea | — |

INDEPENDENT STATES

- | | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|--|
| Ethiopia
Liberia | Ethiopia
Liberia | Ethiopia
Liberia
Union of South Africa |
|---------------------|---------------------|--|

TRUST TERRITORIES

1. Cameroons (former
French mandate)
2. Cameroons (former
British mandate)
3. Togoland (former
French mandate)
4. Togoland (former
British mandate)
5. Tanganyika
6. Ruanda-Urundi
7. Somaliland (former
Italian colony)
8. Eritrea (former
Italian colony)
9. South West Africa

LITERARY SOURCES

The literary sources of the history of Black Africa can be divided into two main groups:

1. *Primary sources*, that is, those dating from that period about whose history they furnish information;

2. *Literature on the history* of Black Africa in the full sense of the word, that is, historical and other works of later origin, treating questions of African history as a subject of research or study.

1. The primary sources include the following:

(a) Official and private *documents* (official publications by the governments and parliaments of colonial powers; peace treaties and other agreements concluded by great powers between one another and with African chiefs; legislative acts, edicts, despatches, etc. of the colonial administration; documents from African companies and individual merchants; letters, etc., etc.).

(b) *Written chronicles* (very few in number).

(c) As regards a number of African countries and peoples, there are *oral chronicles* in the form of popular traditions (*e.g.*, concerning the history of Uganda, the Xhosa, Zulu and other tribes). Their reliability, however, is rather problematic for two reasons: (i) It is impossible for us to judge how much of it is true history and how much only folklore fiction — legends and myths. (ii) Our knowledge of these traditions through one or another colonizer (traveller, missionary) depends on the conscientiousness of that person, on whether he transmitted them the way he had heard them or he “corrected” them for some purpose or other. So we have to make a careful “check-up” on the author who relates such traditions, and should he turn out to be untrustworthy (like STANLEY in the case of Uganda), we can use his material only if directly or indirectly confirmed by others.

(d) One of the most important sources of African history — the most essential and principal ones for those who investigate the early periods of the history of Black Africa (prior to its seizure by the imperialists) — are the *works of contemporaries*: accounts by travellers, memoirs of agents of African companies, of colonial officials and officers of the European powers, as well as of individual traders, adventurers, missionaries, etc. All such authors have to be approached, of course, with utmost wariness and criticism. Not only because there are among them clever falsifiers (like STANLEY, SLATIN PASHA, Carl PETERS and others), but also because the scanty knowledge of geography, ethnography, etc. in that epoch often led them into grave errors. Suffice it to mention, for example, VAN RIEBEECK, who in the middle of the 17th century took the Saan and the Khoi-Khoi for one and the same people,¹ or HORNE-MANN, a German traveller of the late 18th century, who “ascertained” that the Niger flows into the Nile.² Their works contain, however, a lot of valuable data on the history and the socio-economic development of the African peoples they met and described and on the events of the European aggressors’ first clashes with the African peoples. The works of these first — conscious or unconscious — explorers of the African countries and peoples, despite shortcomings and weaknesses (sometimes naïveté and ignorance, too), are, in a certain sense, even more valuable and significant, as far as their reliability is concerned, than the works of more ambitious and systematic explorers of later times. They are more important than the latter in two respects. First, they encountered the African peoples at a time when these were still living in complete primitiveness, untouched and unspoiled yet by European intrusion. They saw these peoples as they had been prior to their encounters with the Europeans. At the same time they observed with their own eyes the changes

¹ Johann van Riebeeck's *Tagebuch*, ed. H. C. V. LEIBBRANDT (“Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope,” i—iii [Cape Town, 1897]).

² The *Journal of Frederick Hornemann's Travels from Cairo to Mourzouk* (London, 1802). That HORNE-MANN's information is erroneous was already pointed out by RENNELL in the “Proceedings” of the “African Association” of London, published in 1810 (*Proceedings of the Association for promoting the discovery of interior parts of Africa*, 2 vols. [London, 1810].) As to the mistakes made by HORNE-MANN, see also: E. SCHAUBENBURG, *Reisen in Central-Afrika von Mungo Park bis auf Dr. H. Barth und Dr. Ed. Vogel* (Lahr, 1859), vol. i, p. 179.

wrought in the life of the Africans by this European intrusion. Second, the classes these authors represented were not interested in distorting the real situation they found in Africa and the real events they witnessed. These authors belonged to various strata of contemporary society, but most of them were either representatives of the rising capitalist class, or déclassé elements. The former were fully aware of the significance of their new discoveries, of the great importance of new opportunities of accumulating wealth to promote their class aspirations. They perceived in the natural resources of Africa and in the economic and cultural backwardness of its peoples the means to increase their own material wealth and social weight. Therefore, they were interested in disclosing the facts of African reality. The déclassé elements and adventurers did not grasp the tremendous historic significance of events. They saw in the African peoples and in the encounters with them something curious, "adventurous", rather than something politically and economically important. They described the "interesting", "curious" new peoples they met as they found them in reality (distorting the facts only now and then, in so far as these concerned their personal role in the events), being completely unaware that their truthful description of the facts would constitute a historical bill of indictment against certain nations and classes.

An extremely critical approach to all these works is needed in one respect only: we have in each case to examine carefully the concrete conditions of the internecine struggle waged, in the given period in the given sector of the African field, between companies, merchants, the agents of the European nation to which the author belonged (or in whose service he was), as well as other factors. In order to ascertain the historical truth we have to make a comparative study of the writings of representatives whose countries participated in that struggle and of those who were merely spectators.

(e) Finally, we have to regard as primary sources the *geographical, ethnographical works, etc.* treating Black Africa or its individual countries and peoples *with reference to the period in which they were written*. If they are based on personal observation, they are on a par with the accounts of travellers. But even if they are based on somebody else's material, they are at any rate reflecting the attitude taken toward the African colonies by certain class strata of one or another colonizing country in that period, and thus they furnish direct or indirect information about its colonial policy.

2. The *historical literature* concerning the various countries and peoples of Black Africa (especially with regard to the 19th century, that is, the epoch of seizure and subjugation) is plentiful, but it is to be approached with particular care and criticism. The large majority of the authors of such works are representatives of the ruling classes of their time (the age of industrial capitalism or imperialism), and others — an insignificant minority — represent the petty-bourgeois classes. Therefore, while making use of their works, we have in each case to take fully into account the class and national interests and aspirations, in the period discussed by the author, of that class or nation to which the author belonged (or with which he sympathized) and the concrete actual class and national purpose the author served with his book. The best means of checking upon the works of bourgeois historians on the history of the African colonies is to make comparisons between the works of authors from the various nations which fought in the past, or rival still today, with one another for the African colonies, or which, at any rate, jealously watch one another's every move in the colonial arena and always endeavour to point out one another's historical lies.

And, of course, all these works, even though they were the best in their kind, can serve only as supplementary, subsidiary sources. In our study they can only supple-

ment, not substitute for, the primary sources, that is, in the first place (if possible), the documentary materials and, in the second place (necessarily), the largest possible number of works by the authors of every given period. The latter, constituting more reliable sources themselves, can be utilized also to check upon the reliability of the historiographers of later times.

None of the historical works of bourgeois authors can be fully accepted without criticism and checking, even if they are fundamental classical works, notable for the scientific objectivity in historical analysis, such as the works by THEAL on South Africa,¹ by GRANDIDIER on Madagascar,² and others.

We can take not only expressly historical works as sources of African history. Very often, systematic accounts of the history of different African countries and peoples, or references to their history, are included as individual chapters in general works on Africa or in special geographical, ethnographical works, etc.

¹ See pp. 87 and 183.

² See p. 94.

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PART ONE

BLACK AFRICA PRIOR TO THE EUROPEAN INTRUSION (Up to the End of the 15th Century)

Two Sections in the Study of This Period

The history of the countries and peoples of Black Africa up to the end of the 15th century is to be studied in two sections.

As is well known, in that epoch there was no contact whatever between the peoples of this part of Africa and the peoples of Europe. The life of the African peoples flowed in complete isolation from Europe and, generally speaking, in almost complete isolation from the outside world. Already in ancient times, however, several persons from other parts of the world made attempts from time to time to discover and explore, first of all, the coastal areas and later even the interior of the African continent. In ancient times there had been also some commercial intercourse between the most advanced peoples of the ancient world (Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Arabs, Greeks) and certain African coastal areas, especially the eastern littoral. In the Middle Ages such voyages of exploration and attempts to establish commercial contacts were continued and expanded mainly by the Arabs. In certain regions of Tropical Africa the Arabs even acted as colonizers. Finally, in the 15th century Portuguese navigators discovered and explored the entire western and eastern littoral of Black Africa. As a consequence more or less systematic trade relations developed with certain places on the west coast already in the 15th century. With the exception of these few places, however, the entire huge territory of Tropical and South Africa remained cut off from the outside world. Only at the close of the 15th century (in certain parts of Africa even as late as the 16th century) did the intrusion of Europeans into Africa begin to assume greater proportions owing to the discovery of America and the slave trade with the New World. The historical destinies of the African peoples became increasingly bound up with the history of the European peoples in general and their colonizing activities in particular.

Therefore, when examining the history of Black Africa prior to the end of the 15th century, we have to distinguish two almost unrelated sections:

1. So far as possible we have to study the history of the African peoples themselves from the earliest times up till the beginning of the European invasion of Africa, that is, until the end of the 15th century.
2. We have to study the history of the geographical discoveries, the history of the attempts by peoples from other continents to explore and colonize Tropical and South Africa from ancient times up to the end of the 15th century.

CHAPTER I

THE PEOPLES OF BLACK AFRICA BEFORE THE END OF THE 15TH CENTURY

We have already expounded in what sense and to what extent we can speak in general about a history of the peoples and countries of Black Africa prior to the end of the 15th century.¹ With regard to a large number of the African countries and peoples, the point in question is not history in the usual sense of the word, but rather an elucidation of their socio-economic, political and cultural evolution up to the time of the European invasion.

To examine these questions, it is necessary for us to have, first of all, a clear idea about the following: Just what kind of peoples have we to do with? What ethnic groups do they belong to? How are they distributed geographically: what territories did they hold at the beginning of, and prior to, the intrusion of the Europeans? What do we know about their migrations, their mutual relations, peaceful contacts and hostilities, their mixings, etc. in the course of their early history?

Many authors, when writing about the African peoples and their classification, and especially when discussing their history before the intrusion of the Europeans, are interested first and foremost in the origin of the African races, the racial affinities and racial differences of those peoples. This question is of hardly any interest to us. What we take interest in are the circumstances decisive for the origin of nations, that is, mainly such aspects as the *territorial distribution* of the various peoples and tribes, their *socio-economic development*, their affinities and differences in *culture* and *language*. In dividing the peoples of Africa into groups, we proceed, not from racial standards, but from these four criteria which are of decisive consequence to the formation of nations. And it is from this angle that we have to look into the facts we know about the life and development of the African peoples and tribes before the intrusion of the Europeans.

The Principal Groups of African Peoples

The overwhelming majority of the peoples inhabiting the African Continent belong to three great families of peoples:

1. Living throughout the territory of the Sudan (*i.e.*, in an extensive zone between the Sahara and the Equator, the northern border of which is the imaginary line running with some curves from the mouth of the Senegal River through Timbuktu to Khartoum and Kassala, while the southern border is the upper Guinea coast and

¹ See p. 16 ff.

its imaginary continuation along approximately 5°N. lat. right to the Ethiopian frontier) are hundreds of tribes and peoples speaking *Sudanic languages*.

2. The part of Africa lying south of the Sudan, that is, nearly the entire southern half of the continent, is, on the whole, the territory of tribes and peoples speaking *Bantu languages*.

3. The regions of Africa lying north and east of the Sudan (*i.e.*, the Mediterranean countries of Africa and the Sahara on the north, and the northeast corner of the continent, including Ethiopia, Eritrea, the Somali countries and a part of Kenya, on the east) are inhabited by peoples speaking *Semitic* and *Hamitic* languages.

Every one of these three groups is a principal group of population of the given territory, inasmuch as the peoples of the respective group have inhabited the whole or almost the whole of the given territory since ancient times, and are numerically superior to the other peoples living in each given territory.

Over and above these three large principal groups, there are an additional three minor groups of African peoples:

1. The *Khoi-Khoi* and the *Saan* tribes, in the southwest corner of the continent;
2. the group of the "pygmy" tribes distributed, so to say, in small islands in the tropical forests of Central Africa;
3. the tribes of Madagascar speaking an Indonesian language.

THE SUDANESE PEOPLES¹

The entire population of West Africa and the Central Sudan (*i.e.*, the vast territory bounded by the Sahara and the upper Guinea coast with its imaginary continuation along 5°N. lat. from the Atlantic to the Nile), apart from a minor stratum of Arab and Berber elements, represents one great family of the *Sudanese peoples*. These peoples are related by *language* and, to a considerable degree, by *culture*. A large majority of them are related to one another also by *origin*. Among the Sudanese tribes, however, there are various nationalities of different origin (*e.g.*: the Fulah of Berber origin). Nor have the Sudanese peoples properly preserved their original racial and ethnic character to the same extent: beside more or less pure representatives of the Sudanese, there are mixed peoples among them with marks of some physical and cultural admixture of Hamitic and Semitic elements over many centuries (the Hausa, the Nilotes etc.). The peoples of the Sudan are far from having attained an equal degree of economic development. Their historical destinies followed utterly different patterns also in the past: some of them had States of their own and an advanced home industry already in ancient times or in the Middle Ages (*e.g.*, the Hausa),

¹ I speak of *Sudanese peoples*, not of "Negroes" nor of "Sudanese Negroes". The word "Negro" is essentially a contemptuous nickname, humiliating and offensive to any conscious son of the Sudanese peoples. And since this term does neither theoretically nor practically express anything positive and can thus be replaced, without detriment to any scientific study, by the term "Sudanese peoples", therefore it must be ignored. For the same reasons I reject the term "Negritic" once proposed by Robert HARTMANN, as well as the name "Ethiopian" as was used by Leo FROBENIUS for Sudanese. This latter term may be used as a synonym for "Abyssinian", since the inhabitants of Ethiopia themselves prefer that designation. The word "Negro" may be used only with regard to American Negroes. In America the word "Negro" has ceased to be a contemptuous nickname, as this part of the American nation calls itself "Negro" on its own accord. But it should be noted that this opinion is not generally accepted: while certain American Negroes proudly call themselves Negroes (they speak of "Negro art", "Negro music", "Negro history", etc.), others do their utmost to get rid of this name, replacing it by different names, such as "Afro-Americans" or "Americans of African descent", etc.

others retained their primitive systems and economies (*e.g.*, the "pagan" tribes of northern Nigeria) as late as the 19th century.

The Sudanese peoples have for ages been settled peasants. In olden times, however, their lands were the targets of continuous attacks and campaigns of conquest by the pastoral (nomadic) peoples living north of the Sudan, in the vast desert and beyond, on the Mediterranean coast. In addition to this in historical times especially after the appearance of Islam, Arab tribes penetrated into the eastern and central districts of the Sudan. In their struggle with the aliens the Sudanese tribes began concluding tribal alliances. The majority of these weak tribal alliances were vanquished by the stronger aliens who brought to life a number of state formations, each uniting under its jurisdiction a few such alliances of African tribes. The subjugators themselves, settling down in the territories conquered, abandoned nomadic life and began to mix with the vanquished Africans. They passed on to them elements of their culture, and adopted the language and customs of the subdued majority. In certain places such States were born in another way: African tribes united in a bigger alliance headed by a supreme chief ("king" or "sultan") were subjugated by the aliens coming from the north or the east.

This was how large ancient States arose in the Western Sudan: *Ghana* (about A. D. 300), *Sonrhai* and *Melle*. The first two were founded by Berber tribes: Ghana west of Timbuktu, northwest of the upper course of the Niger River, and Sonrhai south of Timbuktu, inside the great bend of the Niger River. The State of Melle, which occupied a large territory south and east of the Niger bend, was created by the Sudanese people of the Mandingo but was shortly afterwards subjugated by Tuaregs. In the same way emerged, north of Lake Chad, the State of Kanem, which was established by the Tebu (Tibbu) tribes but was soon afterwards conquered by the Arabs; further, in the eastern part of the Central Sudan, *Darfur*, which was created by Arab tribes; and at a later time *Bornu* (founded by the Sudanese peoples of the Kanembu and Tebu who had come from Kanem), *Baghirmi* and *Wadai* (created by the Arabs).

In the 10th and 11th centuries the three large States of the Western Sudan and the State of Kanem embraced Islam. This strengthened the State authority, increased the influx of Arabs and, consequently, the expansion of trade with other countries, including slave trade. The clan system began to disintegrate step by step, and elements of the slave-holding and, in part, of the feudal system, gradually appeared.

Beside the Arab and Berber conquerors, a role of increasing historical significance for the Sudan States was played by the great Sudanese peoples of Antiquity, the *Mandingo*, the *Sonrhai*, the *Hausa* and the *Fulah*, who had become Sudanese in language and culture, as well as by the new great, unified Sudanese peoples which had emerged on the soil of the Central Sudan States — the *Kanembu*, the *Kanuri*, the *Baghirmi*, the *Wadaians* and the *Darfurians*. In the Western Sudan a great number of minor and major tribes gradually merged with the larger ones, and in the Central Sudan many of them were absorbed by the principal peoples of these countries. Some of them succeeded in holding out on their lands, submitting to the supreme power of the dominating people of the large State that emerged on their territories, or were able to preserve their independence through self-isolation in one or another region of that State. Finally, a large number of Sudanese tribes, unable to stand firm against the conquerors and unwilling to submit to their power, sought refuge in escape. Over many centuries the Sudanese tribes gradually migrated from the interior of the Western (and from the west of the Central) Sudan in four principal directions:

- (a) westward — to the basins of the Senegal and Gambia Rivers;
- (b) southward — to the shore of the Gulf of Guinea;

- (c) southeastward — to Adamawa and beyond, to the region between the Congo and the Nile;
 (d) eastward — to the Eastern Sudan and, farther, to Ethiopia.

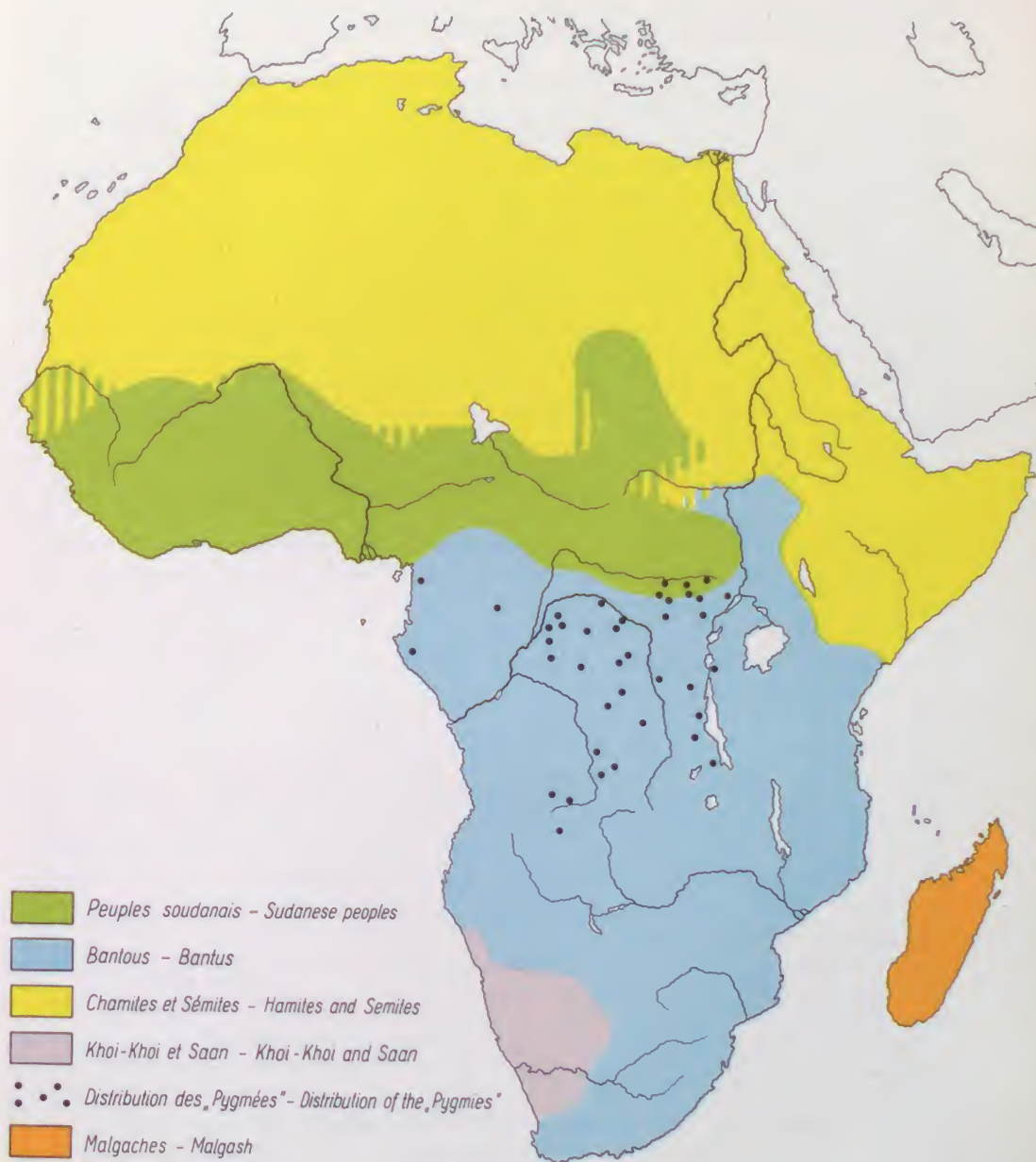
The Peoples of the Western Sudan

A vast majority of the population of the Western Sudan consists of four large nationalities: three great Sudanese peoples which had stood their ground in the struggles against the conquerors: the *Mandingo*, the *Sonrhai* and the *Hausa*, and one of the conquering peoples: the nomadic, pastoral *Fulah* of Berber origin, which became genuine Sudanese in language and, to a considerable degree, in culture as well.

The *Mandingo* (Mande, Mende) constitute the predominant population in the regions adjacent to the upper reaches of the three principal rivers of West Africa — the Senegal, the Gambia and the Niger; besides, they are spread throughout all regions of the Western Sudan south of the Senegal and the upper Niger, from the Atlantic coast to the heart of Nigeria. They break up into many tribes, the most important of which are the *Bambara*, the *Malinkes*, the *Jallonkes*, the *Samankes*, etc. The *Mandingo* were the principal people of the Western Sudan States of Ghana and Melle; the latter was even founded by them. This State achieved the height of its power in the 13th to 15th centuries, after its rulers had embraced Islam (1200). The sultans of Melle conquered a considerable portion of Ghana and Sonrhai, as well as Timbuktu. The might of Melle was broken partly by the Tuaregs, partly by the Sonrhai, in the 15th century. In 1501 it became a tributary to the latter, and after this gradually broke up into a multitude of small States.

The *Sonrhai* or *Songhai* occupy the regions south of Timbuktu and of the great bend of the Niger. The Sonrhai empire that had arisen in the first centuries of our era maintained commercial and cultural contacts with Egypt and the countries of the upper Nile. Egypt transmitted to Sonrhai new customs (e.g., the embalming of kings), the Eastern Sudan — the Moslem religion. The Sonrhai empire reached its highest prosperity in the 16th century, under local rulers (after the Berber conquerors, its founders), when all other Western Sudan States (Ghana, Melle, Mossi, etc.) either were subdued by Sonrhai or became tributaries to it. Timbuktu, occupied by Sonrhai in 1469, was turned into a cultural centre of the whole Western Sudan.

The *Hausa*, who in our days occupy a great portion of northern Nigeria, once lived in the central part of the southern Sahara, east of the Niger River. Ousted from there by the Tuaregs, they gradually migrated towards the south, and in the 9th or 10th century set up seven "primary" and seven "secondary" States that occupied the territory between the Niger on the west and Bornu on the south, that is, almost the entire southern half of present-day Nigeria. Since olden times the Hausa have differed from the rest of the Sudanese peoples by their highly developed handicraft industry, especially the manufacture and the dyeing of textiles. They carried on a very prospering commerce both at home and with other peoples. Owing to their commercial intercourse, their cultural influence was felt far beyond their possessions, and their language consequently became what could be called a *lingua franca* of West Africa. This language was understood on all markets of Africa since olden times; it was used even by the rulers of the Sudan States in their diplomatic intercourse. In their home industry the Hausa employed slave labour, secured in special slave-raiding campaigns against alien tribes. The most important among the "primary" States of the Hausa



TERRITORIAL DIVISION OF THE PRINCIPAL ETHNIC GROUPS OF AFRICA

were *Kano* and *Katsena*, and among the "secondary" ones — *Kebbi*, *Nupe* and *Yoruba*. Until the end of the 15th century the peoples of the Hausa States had not adopted Islam.

The *Fulah* (Fellatah, Fulani, Fulbe, Peulh) are a large group of nomadic, cattle-breeding tribes of Berber origin but Sudanese in language, which in the course of their history became one of the principal nationalities of the Western and Central Sudan. In olden times the *Fulah* lived on the steppes north of Senegal, in present-day Mauritania. Some say that their ancestors had migrated there from the north-east, from Morocco, and others claim that they had come from the east, from the regions of the Tuaregs. Their tribes began to spread very early over the entire Sudan, first in the Western and later in the Central Sudan. They first occupied the region of Central Senegal, where they set up a small State of their own. It was from there that they started penetrating towards the east and the south. At the close of the 13th century they were already in Melle, and in the second half of the 15th century (1482) SUNNI ALI, the sultan of the Sonrhail countries, resorted to war against the *Fulah* tribes that had intruded upon his territory. They did not succeed however, in ousting the *Fulah* tribes from the Western Sudan countries, because by that time some of those tribes already lived in the Hausa States where they had gone to settle down peacefully, as shepherds in search of new pastures.

Beside these three great Western Sudan peoples, the interior of the Western Sudan is inhabited by several small and large tribes which either surrendered to the ruling people of one of the Western Sudan States, or were able to isolate themselves and avoid being subjugated either by alien conquerors or by other Sudanese peoples who, though akin to them in language and culture, were stronger and more powerful. Such tribes are found, above all, in three geographical regions:

(a) In the region of the upper and the middle course of the Niger live the independent *Kuranko*, *Kissi*, *Sangara*, *Wasulu*, etc. tribes.

(b) In the region of the upper reaches of the Volta River live a number of tribes (the *Mossi*, *Gurmaï*, *Gurunsi*, *Borgu*, *Monshi*, etc.) who, though unable to keep away from the influence of the Sonrhail, the Hausa and the *Fulah*, did not adopt Islam either and preserved their small, independent States. The most important role among them fell to the *Mossi* tribes who occupied (and still occupy to this day) the northern slopes of the Kong Mountains within the bend of the Niger River, the regions around the town of Ouagadougou and the northwestern regions of the Gold Coast (Ghana). They were united in a large tribal alliance ("the *Mossi* State") that represented a confederation of five self-governing provinces under the supreme power of a "king". The heads of these provinces were appointed by the king and paid tribute to him. The king had a staff of officials appointed by him whose posts were hereditary. The *Mossi* State reached the height of its development in the middle of the 14th century when it united under its rule a range of neighbouring countries (*Dagomba*, etc.) and occupied even Timbuktu for a while. Afterwards (in the late 15th and in the early 16th century) the *Mossi* carried on obstinate struggles against the Sonrhail whose sultans tried to subjugate them by forcibly converting them to Islam. The large majority of the *Mossi*, however, have remained pagans up to the present day, and only town-dwellers have embraced Islam.

(c) In the northern territory of present-day Nigeria — in the region of the Moslem Hausa and *Fulah* States — a few small pagan tribes — the *Anga*, *Berom*, *Guri*, *Jarawa*, *Jukun*, *Katab*, etc. — have remained untouched by alien influence. They had no kind of State formation; their social structure consisted of the alliance of a few villages headed by a tribal chief.

In addition to the Western Sudan peoples proper, the population of the Western Sudan includes a large number of *Berbers* and *Tuaregs* and a smaller number of *Arabs* and *Moors*.¹

The Peoples of the Central Sudan

The formation of large States in the Central Sudan (Kanem, Bornu, Baghirmi, Wadai, Darfur) led to the birth of great peoples — primitive nations (tribal alliances) — comprising diverse ethnic elements. One of the main fermenting factors was the adoption of Islam which united Arab, Berber and Sudanese tribes: the *Kanembu*, the *Kanuri*, *Baghirmi*, *Wadaians*, *Darfurians*. On the whole, all these peoples bear a Sudanese character, though with a marked Arabo-Berber ethnic touch and Arabo-Berber culture. The unification of the tribes did not mean their assimilation, although certain tribes bore, of course, more or less obvious marks of the Arabo-Berber influence. Finally, it should be noted that all the tribes living in one or another Central Sudan country were not absorbed in the newly formed peoples. In each of these countries there remained various Sudanese tribes who did not form part of the great basic people of the given State, had not yielded—or had yielded only to an insignificant extent—to the Arabo-Berber influence and, what is more, had not adopted Islam. Some of them succeeded in preserving their complete independence, while others, submitting to the supreme political authority (the “sultan”) of the ruling people of one or another Central Sudan State, were able at the same time to retain their Sudanese national character, their own mode of life and culture.

The *Kanembu* (“inhabitants of Kanem”), the basic nationality of the State of Kanem which arose northeast of Lake Chad in the early Middle Ages, consisted of various tribes of the Daza (Tibbu) who, mixed with small Sudanese tribes, had come from the north (the word “Kanem” means “southern region”). Early in the 10th century the Moslem penetration into Kanem began, and with it went the Arab influence. Islam was officially adopted in 1130, upon which Kanem began expanding to the north and the south (occupying the territory of the later Bornu), then around 1500 was conquered by the Bulala (Tibbu) tribe coming from the north, and afterwards became subject alternately to Baghirmi, to the Arabs and to Wadai. In the 14th and 15th centuries a part of the *Kanembu*, fleeing the conquerors, went to Bornu, where they became the nucleus of the new *Kanuri* people, while another part of them in the course of subsequent centuries gradually infiltrated into the same region as individual emigrants and settlers, avoiding to mix with the *Kanuri*. The *Kanembu* were poor in armament: all they had were spears, wooden shields and long knives; they used neither bows and arrows nor missile iron weapons.

The *Bornu* State emerged west and southwest of Lake Chad in the 13th and 14th centuries and was definitively established as a large homogeneous State at the end of the 15th century, after Kanem had lost its independence. The basic nationality of Bornu, the *Kanuri* (Bornuese), developed mainly from the different *Kanembu* and Daza (Tibbu) tribes that had fled from Kanem. One of these tribes, the *Magomi*, was a sort of aristocracy in Bornu, since its members were considered offspring of the ancient sultans of Kanem. The name “*Kanuri*” means “people from Kanem” (in the interpretation of the *Kanuri* themselves: “people of the light”, but according to their enemies: “people of the fire” [i.e., of hell]). The *Kanuri* speak a Sudanic language

akin to that of the Tebu, but it has not much resemblance to the tongue of either the Hausa or the Baghirmi. At the head of the *Kanuri* stood the sultan; the form of government was a patriarchal one: the sultan ruled with the participation of a council, but by and by the sultans gained absolute power. Heir to the sultan was the son of his elder sister. The sultan's relatives were paid princely honours. In the court of the sultan an important part fell to the eunuchs. The Bornu State maintained a big army. The mounted warriors wore either chain armours or breastplates made of iron. The horses wore thick blankets, their heads being covered in front and on both sides with brass plates. The soldiers were not paid but were given land allotments.

The *Darfur* State was founded by the Arab tribe of the Dadio who had subjugated the local Sudanese tribes. Under the rule of the Dadio these tribes came to hold together and, in the 15th and 16th centuries, in the struggle against another (pagan) Arab tribe, the *Tunjur*, who had for a short while conquered Darfur, merged into a homogeneous people called the *Fur* (“Darfurians”). The leading role among the tribes constituting the *Fur* people was played by the *Kunjar* (or Gonjar) whose language was adopted even by the *Fur*. This language is also spoken by other tribes of Darfur. In the earliest days of their formation, the *Fur* people assimilated certain Arab elements; later they increasingly mixed with Arabs and the Arab influence grew stronger. By the end of the 16th century a great many Arabic words had forced their way into the *Fur* (*Kunjar*) language, and in the towns of Darfur the Arabic, a sort of second, “civilized” language, was already in general use. The system of government in Darfur had many patriarchal features (e.g., the sultan's personal participation in the ceremonial opening of the ploughing season) and the family relations had retained many remnants of matriarchy and primitive communism (no bar to marriage between brother and sister, the privilege of the sultan's daughters to choose lovers, etc.).

At the end of the 15th century great homogeneous peoples (the *Wadaians* and the *Baghirmi*) started to develop in the territories of *Wadai* and *Baghirmi*, the two States that arose later in the Central Sudan.

The *Wadaians* became a homogeneous people around the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries, in the common struggle of several Arab and Sudanese tribes against the *Tunjur* and the aggressive efforts of the Darfur sultans. The *Wadaians* are the most Arabized of all the Central Sudan peoples, but, despite the strong Arab influence, the leading role in the alliance of the tribes constituting the *Wadai* people is played, not by Arabs, but by the Sudanese tribes of the *Maba* that make up the upper stratum. The language of the *Mabas* is widely spread among all *Wadai* tribes, being the common language used in trade and other intertribal contacts. In respect of culture, the *Wadaians* are lagging behind the rest of the great Central Sudan peoples.

The *Baghirmi* (*Bagirmi*, *Baguirmi*) people arose in the 16th century, as a result of the integration of a number of Central Sudan tribes (the *Makari*, the *So* and others) with some Arab and Fulah tribes and with some fragmented Sudanese tribes that had returned partly from the region between the Congo and the Nile Rivers (the *Dinka*), partly from the Eastern Sudan (the *Bongo*). The name “*Baghirmi*” (meaning “a hundred cows”) they owe to the circumstance that the first masters of the country used to demand of the peoples subjugated by them a tribute of a hundred head of cattle each.

In addition to these principal ruling peoples of the five Central Sudan States, we have to list among the major peoples of the Central Sudan the *Tibbu* (Tebu) whose tribes constituted certain basic elements that developed into the great Central Sudan peoples — the *Kanembu*, the *Kanuri* and the *Wadaians*. Other tribes of the *Tibbu*,

¹ See pp. 66–67.

keeping away from the new Central Sudan peoples, lived in the territory of the Central Sudan States as independent, individual tribes. The Tibbu (or more exactly: Tubu — “rock-dwellers” — because many of them dwell in caves or among rocks) divide into two large groups: the northern *Teda* and the southern *Daza*. Their settlements in the eastern half of the central part of the Sahara, from Fezzan to Lake Chad with Tibesti in the centre, are spread over an area of more than half a million square kilometres. The Tibbu have many cultural links with other Arab peoples: (almost) common language with the Kanuri, common religion with the Arabs, common customs with the Tuaregs (veil worn by the men) and with the Shilluks (scar tattooing), but they have mixed with none of these peoples. Their society is divided into “chief” (*dardai*), “nobility” (*maina*) and “commoners”. Neither permanent wars nor taxation were ever known to them. Quarrels were settled, not by tribunals, but by duels. Smiths were regarded as a despised caste. They practised monogamy. There were among the Tibbu both settled and nomadic groups, but their majority were seminomads changing their residence frequently. When circumstances made it possible, they practised both agriculture and cattle-raising.

Of the subordinated or independent tribes of the Central Sudan, the *Kotoko* occupy the northeastern region of Bornu, where they had migrated from the east. They lived in towns surrounded by earthwork; each of these towns was an individual State with a “sultan” of its own, who had a “council” of five dignitaries. Very closely related in language and culture to the *Kotoko*, the *Mandara* or *Vandala* inhabit the region of the mountains of the same name in the southeast of Bornu and the northern part of Adamawa. The *Musgu*, living south of the *Kotoko* and related to them, used missile irons (which served also to cut off the legs of the enemy in war and of game in hunting) and wore armours made of buff or thick straw mat. The *Kerebina*, who live south of Lake Chad, are descendants of the most powerful people of Antiquity, the *So*, who later, in the 13th and 14th centuries, were masters of the whole area lying south of Lake Chad. Other dispersed peoples of the Central Sudan are: the *Manga*, *Margi*, *Gamergu*, *Yedina* or *Budduma* (inhabiting the islands of Lake Chad), *Babir*, *Gunrei*, *Sonrei*, etc.

The Peoples of Senegambia

The Sudanese tribes that had migrated to the west, into the basins of the Senegal and Gambia Rivers (“Senegambia”), concluded more or less strong tribal alliances and established primitive States. These bordered on the countries of the Mandingo and, later, of the Fulah, and for centuries they fought for their independence against the Mandingo, the Fulah, against attacks by Moorish tribes coming from the north and against the Europeans invading from the coast.

The most important people of this group, the *Wolof* (Jolof), occupy much of the territory between the Senegal and Gambia Rivers. In earlier times they possessed also the region north of the lower course of the Senegal, but were driven off by the Moorish *Trarza*. They had six State formations (Walo, Baol, Cayor, Sine, Salum and Wolof). Each of them was headed by an elected chief. Every chief was dependent on the paramount chief of all Wolofs, who bore the title of “Big Wolof”. The Wolof people divided into four castes (1. aristocracy, 2. craftsmen, 3. singers and musicians, 4. slaves). The slaves were allowed to own immovable property.

All the other peoples of Senegambia were more or less exposed to the influence of the Wolof (in addition to that of the Mandingo and the Fulah). Most closely related

in language and customs to the Wolof are their southern neighbours, the *Serer*, who occupy the coast lands and the adjacent regions between Dakar and the Gambia-River. They subdivide into the *Serer-Nons* (a minor group on the northwest, bordering upon Cayor) and the *Serer-Sine* (several small tribes). Everywhere in the Serer countries the official language was the Wolof. These tribes mixed with the Wolof and the Mandingo as well. (Many of the Serer tribes had chiefs of Mandingo descent.)

The third large people of Senegambia, the *Tukulor* (Torobe), are related in language to the Fulah. Before the Fulah conquests the Tukulor had a range of States of their own in Senegambia (*Futa-Toro*, *Futa-Jallon*, *Bondu*, etc.). Various scattered groups of the Tukulor are in different regions of the Western Sudan, in the Hausa States, etc.

The weaker Sudanese tribes, wandering to the west, settled down in the territory of the Senegambian States of kindred tribes (and of the Mandingo and the Fulah), in the region of the upper Senegal and its tributaries, and, dispersed in small groups, more or less submitted to the influence of the ruling peoples of these countries and mixed with them. The most important of these tribes are the *Sarakole* and the *Kassonke*. The *Sarakole* (or, as they call themselves, *Soninke*) are the basic population on the left bank of the middle course of the Senegal River, where they had their own State (Ngalam). They also live in scattered groups all over Senegambia and in the region of the upper Niger, in the midst of other peoples. The *Kassonke* live in dispersed communal alliances in the region of Médina. Their language is akin to that of the Mandingo; they are mixed, besides the Mandingo, with the Fulah and the *Sarakole*. They supplied the rulers of the Senegambian States with court jesters (*griots*).

The Peoples of Upper Guinea

In respect of population, the northern part of upper Guinea (appr. from the Gambia River to the centre of the present-day Republic of the Ivory Coast) is to be distinguished from the southern part. The coast regions of the northern part of upper Guinea are inhabited by a multitude of sparse Sudanese peoples, which can hardly be subdivided into tribes closely related in language to one another; the interior areas of this part of upper Guinea are inhabited mainly by Mandingo and Fulah, and sporadically by independent (or subjugated) tribes of the Western Sudan (*Kuranko*, *Wasulu*, etc.); only in Sierra Leone and in Liberia can we find the predominance of Guinean tribes in the interior regions. The most important among the tribes of the coast regions are (from north to south): the *Felup*, *Balanti*, *Papel*, *Bissago*, *Biafari*, *Nalu*, *Baga*, *Susu*, *Temne*, *Kru*, *Bulama*, *Bassa*, *Grebo*; and among the inland tribes of Sierra Leone and Liberia: the *Gallina*, *Solima*, *Vei*, *Gola*, *Deh*, *Bussi*, *Passi*, etc.

The tribes inhabiting the southern sector of the upper Guinea coast and the adjacent interior regions (the eastern part of the Ivory Coast, Ghana, Togoland, Dahomey, southern Nigeria) belong, on the whole, to three language groups:

(a) the tribes speaking the *Twì* (*Tshi* or *Chi*) and *Ga* languages inhabit the southeastern regions of the Ivory Coast and the western part of Togoland; the most important of them are the *Ashanti* in the interior regions of Ghana and the *Fanti* on the coast;

(b) the *Ewe*-speaking tribes live in the eastern half of Togoland and Dahomey; the most important of this group are the *Fon* (“Dahomi”);

(c) the *Yoruba*-speaking tribes inhabit southern Nigeria; the most important of them, for both their numbers and their historic role, are the tribes of the *Yoruba*

group which had given their name to this language group, and the *Eio* or *Ibo* tribes which are related to them in language and culture.

Before the appearance of Europeans on the Guinea coast all of these tribes (with a few exceptions) lived their own primitive life in isolation from even one another, so that we cannot speak of their *history* prior to the end of the 15th century. Even such tribes as the *Ashanti* and the *Fon*, which played so prominent a role in the later history of West Africa, had not done anything to distinguish themselves among the many surrounding small tribes. Exceptions to this rule are the *Susu* people in the territory of the present-day Republic of Guinea and some *Yoruba* tribes in the southern part of Nigeria. The *Susu*, who at present inhabit the coast region of Guinea between the Rio-Pongo and Little Scarcie Rivers, in the past played an important role in the interior regions of the Western Sudan; in the 13th century they conquered even Timbuktu and were its masters for a hundred years, but afterwards they were forced by the Mandingo and the Fulah to withdraw to the littoral. They held slaves themselves, carried on traffic in slaves and conducted slave-raiding expeditions. Long before the appearance of the Europeans some of the *Yoruba* tribes on the shores of the Bight of Benin and in the adjacent regions had relatively strong State formations of their own with initial signs of a slave-holding system. A most important one of them was *Benin*.

The Peoples of Adamawa and of the Region between the Congo and the Nile

Many Sudanese tribes, being driven out of the Western and Central Sudan, spread to the southeast, to the territory of today's Adamawa (Cameroons), where they lived dispersed over a vast area, and some of them, as a result of centuries-long wanderings, reached the very heart of Equatorial Africa and settled down in the regions between the Congo, Uele and Nile Rivers as well as northwest of the Uele, occupying much of the basin of the Ubangi-Uele. It is impossible to ascertain the time of these wanderings, and we also know little of the life of these peoples until the end of the 15th century. The Sudanese tribes of Adamawa appeared on the stage of history only much later, in the 19th century, distinguishing themselves by their struggle against the Fulah conquerors¹ and the Western Bantu tribes advancing from south to north. Our first information of the tribes of the region between the Congo and the Nile dates from the second half of the 19th century.² The tribes of Adamawa have preserved their Sudanese character until the latest times. The tribes of the region between the rivers merged with Nilotic and Bantu tribes, preserving their Sudanic languages and their character as peasants and hunters. In contrast to their Nilotic and Bantu neighbours, they did not keep cattle at all and raised only poultry, some of them keeping goats. The most important among the tribes of Adamawa are: the *Tikar*, *Wute*, *Baya*, *Falli*, *Bali*, etc., and among the tribes of the region between the rivers: the *Azande*, *Mangbattu* (Monbuttu) and *Bongo*.

¹ See p. 206.

² See p. 226.

The Sudanese Tribes of Northeast Africa

Owing to the eastward migration of the Sudanese peoples, some tribes which had settled down in the region of the upper Nile and its tributaries mixed with the Hamitic tribes living in the northeast corner of Africa. The centuries-long mingling resulted in peoples of a new type, new in blood and culture, with new, mixed languages. These peoples were called the *Nilotes*. Their language is a sort of transition between the Sudanic and the Hamitic languages. In addition to what they inherited from the Sudanese and what they borrowed from the Hamites (and semi-Hamites), their customs and culture show many peculiarities. All Nilotes practise agriculture and cattle-breeding, agriculture being predominant with some (the Madi, Shuli), and cattle-breeding with others (the Dinka). Characteristic of all the Nilotes is their fondness of horned cattle, perverted in some places (among the Dinka in particular) into a sort of cult of the bull. Polygamy is customary: they get wives for cattle. Wearing clothes is considered unworthy of the men; the women put on aprons made of metal chains or leather straps, and, in some places, they wear also calfskins and the like. They adorn themselves with metal and glass objects. The most important of the Nilotic tribes are the *Shilluks*, *Dinka*, *Nuer*, *Shuli*, *Bari* and *Madi*.

Scattered throughout the Eastern Sudan beside the Nilotic peoples are a number of minor and major Sudanese tribes which have migrated there from the interior of the Sudan, but which have preserved even here, in the midst of Hamitic and Arab (and Nilotic) peoples, their original Sudanese character. The most important of them are the *Nuba* (in the southern region of Kordofan), the *Funj* (in the region of Sennar) and the *Berta* (in the valleys of the Tumat and Jabus Rivers, tributaries of the Blue Nile).

Some of the immigrant Sudanese tribes on the east reached the territory of Ethiopia in olden times and settled down among Hamitic and Semitic peoples but, just like their congeners in the Eastern Sudan, preserved their original Sudanese character. In Ethiopia all these tribes—as all individuals from the original Sudanese peoples in general—are called “Shangalla”, which corresponds to the European term “Negro”. The most important of these tribes are the *Kunama*, or *Bazeni*, inhabiting the valleys of the Mareb and Takkaze Rivers and the adjoining tablelands, and the *Bara* occupying the mountainous regions between the Mareb and Barka Rivers in the northwest corner of Ethiopia.

Already in the earliest times the Sudanese tribes of Northeast Africa were constantly raided and exploited by the ruling peoples of Egypt and by the slave-holding States in the territories of the Eastern Sudan and Ethiopia (Napata, Meroe, Nubia, Aksum, Ethiopia)¹ as well as by the Arabs. The slaves whose labour contributed to the construction and prosperity of the ancient Egyptian and other (Nubian, Axumite) civilizations were for the most part Sudanese. During many centuries all these tribes had to struggle for their existence and freedom. Some of them fought active fights, while others (in fact, the great majority) abode by passive resistance. Those actively fighting gradually created tribal alliances and confederations, headed by war leaders (e.g., the *melik* of the Berta), and even by paramount chiefs (e.g., the “king” of the Shilluks), who ruled a whole group of tribes. But the majority of the tribes chose to hide themselves from the attacks of the stronger assailants rather than to offer armed resistance, and thus had to change their residence frequently. As a result, most of them (like the youngest stock of the Southern Bantu) became

¹ See pp. 68–70.

essentially cattle-raising tribes¹. With the frequent migrations went also conflicts and wars even between tribes akin to one another.

The most active among the Nilotic tribes were the Shilluk, and among the Sudanese, the Funj. At the close of the 15th century they entered into alliance with each other and conquered Sennar, where the Funj founded their State early in the 16th century.²

Characteristic of all the Sudanese peoples of Northeast Africa is their insusceptibility to cultural influence coming from outside. Nevertheless, the life of some Sudanese tribes by and by became pervaded by elements of the surrounding higher, slave-holding cultures. (E.g., the Berta practised many old Egyptian customs; the Funj had, even before they founded the Sennar State, adopted many Arab customs, etc.) This influence of higher cultures made itself felt among the Nilotes and the Sudanese tribes of Ethiopia only to a lesser extent.

THE BANTU PEOPLES

All the peoples in the south of the African continent, with the exception of certain tribes of the Khoi-Saan group and the Pygmies, belong to one large language family, the group of the *Bantu* peoples. Each of these peoples speaks a tongue which is either a dialect or an offshoot of the main language, the Bantu. But it is not their language alone that holds the Bantu peoples together in one large ethnic family. Unlike the Sudanese peoples, *all* the Bantu are related to one another also by *origin*. In the course of their history, though, the various groups of the Bantu peoples followed different historical roads; the common family of the Bantu, as we shall see below, eventually broke up into different historico-geographical subgroups, each of which acquired or developed particular cultural features. Despite the extremely great variety and strong differentiation of their political systems and social evolution or the diversity of their economic structures, religions, customs, etc., however, the socio-economic structure, the culture and the mode of life of all the Bantu peoples are built upon the same foundations. *All Bantu peoples are more or less closely related to one another both by language and by culture.*

The original homeland of the Bantu from where they spread out to settle down in other parts of South Africa is supposed to have been the interior areas of East Equatorial Africa, the region of the Great Lakes.

Already in ancient times the Bantu in East Africa came into contact with the wave of Hamitic peoples advancing from the northeast. Throughout many centuries East Africa was an arena of the struggle of Bantu tribes with Hamitic peoples. The centuries-long wars, economic and cultural contacts and the mixture with Hamites acted upon the different Bantu tribes in different ways. In the end, each Bantu tribe took one of the following three courses of development:

1. As a result of secular contacts with Hamitic peoples, some of the Bantu tribes more or less submitted to Hamitic influence or were even subjugated by Hamites, while many Bantu tribes, having submitted to Hamitic influence, in the course of time, merged with the Hamitic peoples to a certain extent.

2. Other tribes succeeded, at the price of perpetual wars, in resisting the power and influence of the Hamitic conquerors and holding out on their territories or (and

¹ See p. 59.

² See p. 160.

this was a considerably more frequent occurrence) in escaping the power and influence of the Hamites by changing (sometimes even more than once) their residence.

3. Again other tribes, in order to escape the power and influence of the Hamites, not only were forced to abandon their original residence, but went even beyond the frontiers of their territories exposed to the incursions and onslaughts of the Hamitic newcomers, thus leaving East Equatorial Africa, some of them southward and others westward. Thus it happened that the three great branches of the Bantu peoples, the *Eastern*, the *Southern* and the *Western* Bantu, emerged while the Eastern Bantu, who had remained in East Equatorial Africa, divided into two distinct groups: those who came under Hamitic influence and those who did not.

A) THE EASTERN BANTU

The group of the Eastern Bantu tribes that submitted to the Hamitic influence is a rather heterogeneous one. In it we have to distinguish two main subgroups: the tribes of the *Wahuma States* and those of the *Hamiticized Bantu*.

The Tribes of the Wahuma States

In the northwestern territory of the Bantu (in the region of Lake Victoria) the invading nomadic, pastoral Hamitic peoples of the *Wahuma* (Wahima) and the *Wahinda* subjugated the sedentary, agricultural tribes of the Bantu and united them in big tribal federations under their own rule. This gave rise to what we call the "Wahuma States" (first: Kitara, Ihangiro, Karagwe, and later: Buganda, Bunyoro, Ankole, Toro). These were tribal federations of the Bantu peoples, headed by Wahuma and Wahinda rulers of Hamitic descent. But these rulers and their warriors, after settling down, mixed with the subjugated tribes and adopted their languages. As a result, mixed peoples speaking Bantu languages integrated in these countries. But, even to the present day, society has remained divided into an overwhelming majority (90 to 95 per cent) of the population, the subjected Eastern Bantu called collectively the *Wahutu*, and an infinitesimal minority of the ruling Wahuma of Hamitic origin called collectively the *Watussi*. The Wahutu are agricultural labourers, and the Watussi are mostly cattle-raisers. The peoples of the Wahuma States divide into two main subgroups of languages: the tribes speaking the *Kinyoro* language inhabit the territories of the former African States of Buganda, Bunyoro, Ankole and Toro, that is, the entire territory of present-day Uganda; and the *Kirundi*-speaking tribes occupy the territory of Ruanda and Urundi. The most important of the former are the principal tribes of the said four countries: the *Waganda*, *Wanyoro*, *Wanyankole* and *Watoro*. The Kirundi language is spoken by the principal peoples of Ruanda and Urundi, the *Wanyaruanda* and the *Warundi*.

The Hamiticized Bantu

Some Bantu tribes that founded strong tribal alliances in the past, though living in the immediate neighbourhood of Hamitic or semi-Hamitic peoples or even in their midst, have held out on their territories, but have absorbed considerable elements of the Hamitic immigrants settling down among them. Literature usually calls these

tribes the "Hamiticized Bantu" or "Bantu-Hamites". The most important among them are the *Wagogo*, the *Wajagga*, the *Wateita*, the *Kikuyu* and the *Akamba*. These tribes entered the stage of history as late as the 19th century.

The Bantu-Nilotes

In addition to being Hamiticized in a high degree, the Eastern Bantu are a little affected also by a process of Nilotization. The eastern shore of Lake Victoria and the adjoining east corner of Uganda, as well as the southwest corner of Kenya, are occupied by a number of peoples, Eastern Bantu by origin, but very much mixed, physically and culturally and in language, with the neighbouring Nilotic tribes and to a certain extent even with the Hamites. This is why they are called "Bantu-Nilotes". The most important of these tribes are the *Wakavirondo*. This name is borne by two different tribes, since the former homogeneous Wakavirondo people has broken up into two parts: the Kavirondo who live in the vicinity of the Kikuyu, west of them, speak a Bantu tongue closely akin to the Kiswahili and hardly differ from the Hamiticized Bantu in respect of economic structure and customs; while the Kavirondo inhabiting the region near the northeastern shore of Lake Victoria speak the Nilotic language and, as regards their character and customs, are closer to the Nilotes than to the Bantus. Although they have a supreme chief ("king") of their own, their villages are independent.

The Swahili

In a later period the Eastern Bantu tribes living along the coast and in the adjacent regions ceded to a strong Arab influence and in part mixed with Arabs. This led to the decomposition of tribalism and gave rise to the *Swahili* people.¹

The Eastern Bantu Tribes Unaffected by the Hamitic Influence

The Eastern Bantu tribes that escaped Hamitic influence were those who lived and still live surrounded by other Bantu (or Hamiticized Bantu) tribes without entering into direct contact with the Hamites. They are divided into two great historico-geographical groups:

1. The Eastern Bantu tribes which occupy the interior (western and central) regions of Tanganyika (about half its entire territory) and live surrounded by other Eastern Bantu tribes. The most important among them are the *Wanyamwezi* and the *Wahehe* tribes, which played an outstanding part in the modern history of East Equatorial Africa.

2. The Eastern Bantu tribes which, dispersed among those Southern Bantu who have migrated back to the north, live in the southern regions of Tanganyika contiguous to Portuguese East Africa, south of the Ruaha and Rufiji Rivers. This group includes the *Wamawia*, *Wamakonde*, *Wamanganja*, *Wamawemba*, *Wanyassa*, *Wanindi*, *Wapogoro* tribes, etc. Some of these tribes, like a few of the first group, played a prominent role in the modern history of (former "German") East Africa.

¹ See p. 153.

B) THE SOUTHERN BANTU

The migration of the Bantu tribes from East Equatorial Africa to South Africa took place in a succession of three waves. The first wave carried the *Wamakua* and *Wayao* tribes, not to South Africa yet, but only to the southernmost regions of East Equatorial Africa, between the Rowuma and Zambezi Rivers. (Later, in the 19th century, both tribes partly returned to the southern region of present-day Tanganyika.)¹ The second wave of migration carried to South Africa—via the territory of the *Wamakua* and the *Wayao*—the *Shona* (*Mashona*, *Makalanga*, *Banyai*, *Makorekore*, etc.) tribes. They occupied the territory between the Zambezi and Limpopo Rivers. Of this group the most important part was played by the *Makalanga* or *Makaraka* tribes which brought into existence a big state formation: *Monomotapa* (see below). The third and last wave carried to South Africa three groups of the Bantu tribes: the *Bechuana* and two closely related groups, the *Xhosa* and the *Zulu*. All three of these groups traversed the territories of the two older strata of the Southern Bantu, upon which each of the three groups followed a different direction: the *Bechuana* advanced southwestward and then southward, the *Xhosa* took the southerly direction, and the *Zulu* migrated first southward and then southeastward.

Later, when these three groups definitely settled down in the new territories, their conditions of life and struggle became different, so that their economic and political development took different courses, and at present the three groups bear many substantial dissimilarities, especially as regards their social systems and political structures.² But at the time of their migration they underwent by and large the same changes. These can be summed up in the following four main points:

(a) As a result of frequent migrations, agriculture became a secondary occupation, while cattle-breeding, as the only steady and reliable basis of subsistence, gained exceptional importance.

(b) Tribalism changed into a sort of military organization: the chief of the tribe was, first and foremost, a military organizer and war leader.

(c) In the course of the migrations and wars they often created tribal alliances which, however, were of an exclusively military nature (without their being united organizationally) and most of them disintegrated and disappeared as quickly as they had been formed.

(d) As a consequence of the perpetual wars, the women of the tribes began to outnumber the men to a considerable extent, and this of necessity led to polygamy on a large scale.

Monomotapa and Zimbabwe

Early Portuguese sources, and in their wake many historians of later times and even of our days, speak about the "great and powerful" State of Monomotapa, founded by certain Bantu tribes in the territory of present-day Southern Rhodesia, about its fabulous riches, etc. This "State" existed in fact, and was indeed founded by Southern Bantu tribes, the greatest of which was the *Makalanga* tribe.³ But by no

¹ See p. 255.

² See p. 239 and ff.

³ When Monomotapa was constituted is not known. In his chronicle the Arabian historian MASUDI refers to a certain "Zenj empire" that emerged in a country beyond Sofala in the 10th century, and which certain authors are inclined to identify with the Monomotapa of later times. I consider this assumption erroneous. The stories about Zenj are that its "kings" exported besides gold and ivory, also *slaves*; but slavery did not exist at all among the *Makalanga*.

means did it possess such qualities as were attributed to it by the Portuguese who, as we shall see, had never penetrated into those regions. Monomotapa differed from the other tribal alliances of the Bantu only in that (1) its composition was a little more complex, for it included a series of tribes under the supreme rule of the Makalanga, and (2) the tribes that made up Monomotapa, after having occupied a vast fertile territory which was equally suitable for agriculture and cattle-breeding and was rich in gold deposits and, what is more, had a strong defence of natural barriers against attacks from the outside, settled down definitely, unlike other Bantu tribes, in one place and — most probably through the mediation of other tribes — established trade contacts with the coastlands to sell their gold. That the false opinion formed on Monomotapa could widely circulate was due, beside the material well-being of its tribes, to the "mysteriousness" the country had acquired in the eyes of the Arab, Portuguese and other merchants who bought its gold but never saw the country itself, and to the fact that Monomotapa was situated in the region of the ruins of ancient Zimbabwe and that its tribes erected, after the model of the ruins they had found there, *stone walls* around their villages. These stone walls did not remain unknown to the Arabs and Portuguese either, who saw in them signs of a higher degree of development.

In Mashonaland, in the Southern Rhodesia of today, is a vast area with ruins of many stoneworks, doubtless vestiges of an ancient civilization. These are military fortifications. The remains of smelting furnaces and utensils of ancient origin found everywhere nearby testify that the builders of those structures were engaged in the exploitation of the country's gold deposits long before the formation of Monomotapa (or Zenj).

The question of which people is supposed to have created this civilization in the depths of South Africa has not yet been clarified. We have plenty of literature about it, as well as various "theories" and hypotheses. Some mention early Arab colonization, others speak of Jews, Egyptians, Phoenicians, Hindus, etc. Again others hold the view that those structures are the work of the Saan ("Bushmen"). The only opinion which none of the authors of these theories is willing to admit is that the builders might have been Bantus. We have no warrant for maintaining this view yet any one of the existing theories or hypotheses involves so great a number of uncertain points that it can be supposed with equally good reason that the builders of these fortifications, the first owners of these gold fields, the founders of that civilization (as a matter of course, under the influence and guidance of some newcomers from one or another of the above-mentioned civilized peoples), were the Bantu themselves, some precursors of the Makalanga, who later, overtaken by some disaster of unknown origin (it may have been, for example, the assault from another Bantu tribe which had not adopted that civilization), were destroyed together with their civilization.

C) THE WESTERN BANTU

The Bantu tribes migrating westward found themselves in very different conditions. The territory of West and Central Equatorial Africa occupied by the Western Bantu comprises two distinct parts: an area of dense tropical forests on the north and an open savannah on the south, stretching right to the estuary of the Congo and to the upper reaches of the Cunene, Zambezi, Cubango, Kwito, Chobo, Sankuru and Kasai Rivers, and even to the sources of the Congo. The conditions of economic

activity and economic development in these two areas were different, and consequently their peoples followed different courses of politico-economic development. In the area of tropical forests great importance attaches, besides primitive agriculture, to plant-gathering economy and to hunting; the open savannahs in turn are suitable for hoe-culture. In the forest regions the peoples lived mostly dispersed in small and still smaller tribes; the open region and the regions on the verge of the forests were favourable for the formation of large tribal alliances and even States. Thus the historical fate of the Western Bantu living in the northern (forest) region was from the outset different from the destinies of their congeners who settled down in the southern (steppe) region.

The distribution of the tribes that found their homes in the different regions of West and Central Equatorial Africa was of tremendous consequence to their further fate from another point of view, too: some tribes settled down in the interior regions adjoining the line of the Great Lakes from the west toward the upper course of the Congo River; others went even farther and reached the intermediate regions lying between the interior areas and the coast; finally certain tribes advanced right to the coast lands. The circumstance that the territory of one or another tribe was near or far away from the coast was of great importance from the outset as to the conditions and chances of economic development, and the geographical situation of the tribes with regard to the coast became especially significant later, after the beginning of European invasion, when different geographical situations meant to the African peoples different *strategic* positions in the struggle against the alien invaders. As a result, the destinies of the various tribes developed differently, depending on whether they lived along the coast, or in the intermediate regions between the coast and the interior areas, or just in the interior of the continent. In some form and degree or other, the tribes of the coast gradually submitted to the power and influence of the Europeans; in the hinterland of the coast there developed a strip inhabited by tribes which offered resistance to the slave-raiding campaigns of the Europeans (and of the coast tribes in the service of the Europeans) or became their go-betweens; the tribes inhabiting the interior areas up to the latest times (until the increased Arab penetration from the east in the 19th century) continued to lead their old mode of life, without yielding to foreign influence.

This is how the very course of their history divided the Western Bantu into two large groups, a northern and a southern group (tribes of the forests and tribes of the savannahs), while each of these groups divided into three subgroups: coastal, intermediate and inland tribes.

We cannot even approximately ascertain the time of the migrations of the Western Bantu. The only thing we can say for sure is that the Western Bantu tribes living in the closest proximity of the original East African homeland (between the Congo River and Lake Tanganyika)—the *Warua*, *Waregga*, *Manyema* and others—in contradistinction to what we could see in the case of the Southern Bantu, belong to the most recent immigrants, not to the oldest ones.

We have no reliable information of the concrete history of the Western Bantu prior to the beginning of the European invasion. What we know of it is a few data about certain facts and our sources are of a more recent date. Thus, for example, as regards the tribes of the *Bakundu* group inhabiting the coast lands of the Cameroons, we know that since the earliest times they maintained contacts with Sudanese tribes and, through them, with the Fulah and the Arabs. They held slaves who lived with them in villages of their own, giving their "proprietors" only part of their production. Politically, these slave communities were independent in a high degree, some of them

constituting even autonomous political organizations headed by elected chiefs and by representatives of the community. Later on, many of these communities gradually ceased paying tribute to the Bakundu and became completely independent. The *Fang* (Pangwe) tribes inhabiting today the northwestern region of Gabon (between the Ogowe River and the southern frontier of Spanish Guinea) and the southwest corner of the Cameroons,¹ are known to have lived a while in the course of their wanderings in the neighbourhood of the *Azande* with whom they maintained contacts. The *Manyema* tribes occupying the basin of the upper Congo between the junction of the Lualaba and Luapula Rivers and the Equator, are known to have practised cannibalism in the past, but almost exclusively in war, eating the defeated enemy. The most important fact we authentically know from the history of the Western Bantu is that a number of these tribes created great State formations long before the appearance of the Europeans. The most significant were the *Congo States* and the *Lunda empire* in the southern areas of West and Central Equatorial Africa, the *Bushongo country* and the *Warua country* in the interior of the forest region.

In the later and modern history of West and Central Equatorial Africa many Western Bantu tribes played a prominent role, viz.:

Among the coastal tribes of the forest regions—besides the above-mentioned *Bakundu* and *Fang*—the *Bakoko*, *Mpongwe*, *Benga*, etc.;

among the intermediate tribes of the forest region, the *Bateke*, *Bubangi*, *Apfuru*, *Baya*, *Waboma*, etc.;

among the inland tribes of the forest region—in addition to the afore-mentioned *Bakuba* (*Bushongo*), *Warua* and *Manyema*—the *Baluba*, *Bangala*, *Balolo*, *Bassongo-Mino*, *Waregga*, *Wavinza*, etc.;

among the coastal tribes of the savannahs—besides the *Bakongo*—the *Bunda* tribes;

among the intermediate tribes of the savannahs, the *Kioko* (Chiokwe), *Herero* and *Ovambo* tribes; and

among the inland tribes of the savannahs—besides the *Balunda*—the *Babemba*, *Barotse*, *Batoka*, etc.

The Congo States

The *Bakongo* or *Bafioté* tribes, inhabiting the entire coast region of Angola from the estuary of the Congo to the mouth of the Dande River (north of Luanda) and a small territory directly adjoining the Congo estuary on the north (Kabinda), as well as the regions contiguous to the coast, already in ancient times brought into existence a series of State formations which, by the time the Portuguese made their appearance there (end of the 15th century), were united in a great State, a sort of federation of small States under the sole authority of a paramount chief, the "Great Father" (*Mfuma*) or, as the Portuguese called him, the "King of Kongo". This federation included, among others, the Loango, Kakongo, Ngoye and Congo States. Each State was ruled by a vicegerent of the "King of Kongo" (*Muene* or *Mani-fuma*). These countries practised slavery and had already developed even a rudimentary stage of feudalism (practically everybody was considered to be a slave of the king; the king disposed of all lands, he received tributes from the provincial chiefs, etc.). However, we cannot take their system to have been an accomplished slave-holding or feudal system for the following reasons:

¹ About their migrations in modern times, see p. 227.

1. The power of the monarch was not hereditary, but the king was elected from among a sort of aristocracy of the royal families;

2. Despite the almost divine honour and certain sovereign rights he enjoyed, the king was not an absolute and exclusive monarch of the country, because popular assemblies also played an important part;

3. Slavery among them was rather wide-spread, but they did not engage in slave-raids: their slaves were (a) prisoners of war, (b) criminals and (c) insolvent persons. The slaves were treated as members of the family; the proprietor called his slave "son" or "daughter"; the slave was allowed to possess and inherit property, and he was virtually free to change his master: all he had to do to this end was to cause damage to the free man whom he wanted to be his owner, and thus he became an "insolvent debtor" of that person, that is, his property.

The State of Mwata Yamvo

The *Balunda* (*Kalunda*, *Karunda*, *Balua*, *Molua*) are a populous Western Bantu people, constituting the bulk of the population in Eastern Angola and in the southwest portion of the Congo lying (approximately) between 6° and 11° S. lat., between the upper course of the Kwango River and the sources of the Zambezi and Congo (Lualaba) Rivers. In this vast territory, whose smaller — western — half lies in the savannah belt, its larger — eastern — half belongs to the forest region, the Balunda people created an immense State formation (the "Lunda empire") which held under its influence many other Western Bantu peoples.

According to tradition this State was founded by a powerful chief, a hunter from the Baluba tribe, who had come from the northeast and settled down with this kinsfolk among the Balunda. The State was called the "Lunda empire" or the "State of Mwata Yamvo". "Mwata Yamvo" was the title of the head of State, the "king" (paramount chief). The word *Mwata* means "master", and *Yamvo* — which later became a common noun (like the name Caesar) — was the name of the son of the founder of the Lunda empire.

A peculiarity of the Lunda empire that sharply distinguished it from the other States was duality in the power, which clearly reflected surviving traditions of the former matriarchal system: besides Mwata Yamvo the State had another ruler, the "Lukokesha" ("mother of all"). The country was divided into two parts: in one of them the supreme power was exercised by Mwata Yamvo, in the other by the Lukokesha, the public affairs of general concern being administered in common. Formally, the Lukokesha was not allowed to get married, but in fact she could have several husbands of her own choice: any male she chose for herself formally became her slave, in fact her husband, and the principal husband of the Lukokesha, called "the favourite slave", enjoyed great privileges (even though he had been selected from among the slaves). Being a virgin officially, the Lukokesha was not supposed to have children; therefore, if she gave birth to a child, it had to be killed.

Another characteristic trait of the Lunda empire, making it similar to the Congo (Bafioté) States and others, was the combination — so typical of the States of the Western Bantu — of an absolute ruler and a privileged aristocracy with a government of essentially democratic nature. Mwata Yamvo was a sovereign monarch with regard to his subjects, and he appointed all dignitaries himself, but the national affairs of major importance were settled by the grand popular assembly which had the right to criticize his action and even to dethrone him.

One of the main sovereign rights of Mwata Yamvo (and accordingly of the Lukoksha in her province) was that of imposing taxes on the dependent tribes and chiefs. The sum and term of the taxes were not set beforehand but were fixed by the king occasionally. Both Mwata Yamvo and the Lukoksha had their staffs of court ministers and other dignitaries, and all the princes, ministers, dignitaries, central and local chiefs together made up a privileged high nobility, the *kilolo*. One of the main functions of the king was to organize trade and military expeditions with a view to subjugating (or plundering) the refractory tribes.

Mwata Yamvo possessed and wore an entire arsenal of the tokens of royal dignity: a sickle-shaped iron sceptre in his hand; a bundle of red parrot's feathers on his head; a metal bracelet about his wrist; a metal ornament like an order on his breast; a pearl necklace around his neck; and a rug under his feet. The king was elected by four ministers from among the sons of one of the principal wives of the dead king, but the election was subject to the consent of the Lukoksha; the Lukoksha in turn was chosen by the same four ministers from among the daughters of one of the same two principal wives of the dead king, and the choice was to be confirmed by Mwata Yamvo. The king's accession to the throne took place under strictly prescribed formalities. One of the most important features in these festivities was the kindling of the new fire by the king, which then set light to all the fires.

Ceremonies and strict etiquette were highly significant among the Balunda. There were strict instructions as to the conduct of a common member of the tribe: how to bow before the king, how to pay honours to the various chiefs, etc. No less strict rules governed the conduct of Mwata Yamvo himself: he had to abstain from smoking and getting drunk, nor was he allowed to eat in the presence of his subjects and appear before them otherwise than sitting on a stretcher or on the shoulders of a slave, etc. (Special stretchers called *tipoya* in the Lunda countries, as in the Congo States, were conventional means of transportation of the nobility.) After the death of every king the residence of Mwata Yamvo (Mussamba) was changed, but always within the region between the Kalanja and Luisa Rivers (eastern affluents of the Lulua), not far from the holy place (*Entai*) where, according to tradition, the first Mwata Yamvo had lived and the first 14 kings of the empire had been buried.

During the existence of the State of Mwata Yamvo the Balunda mixed with other tribes as the State power was gradually extended over other peoples, and took over many foreign elements (especially from the Kioko, Babisa and Lobala tribes), which in the course of time became completely assimilated. In the neighbourhood of the State of Mwata Yamvo existed several similar States which were founded by members of the royal family reigning in the State of Mwata Yamvo. In the course of their histories these States were sometimes tributaries to Mwata Yamvo and sometimes independent of him. Let us mention among them: the Kingdom of *Kazembe*, to the east of Mwata Yamvo, between the upper Lualaba and Lake Bangweolo; the *Mai Munene* country, to the north of Mwata Yamvo; the Kingdom of *Kasongo*, farther northward, on the Lualaba River.

The Bushongo State

The *Bakuba* (or, as they called themselves, *Bushongo*, that is, "people of the thrown knife", after their national weapon they generally used in the past) occupy the region between the Sankuru and Lulua Rivers (Belgian Congo). They divide into scores of tribes among which the most important are the *Bambala*. Their tradition says that they have migrated from the northeast to their present place of residence. The

Relics of African art from the time before the European invasion (I—VIII.)



1—4. Vestiges of the ancient civilization of Zimbabwe (see p. 60)

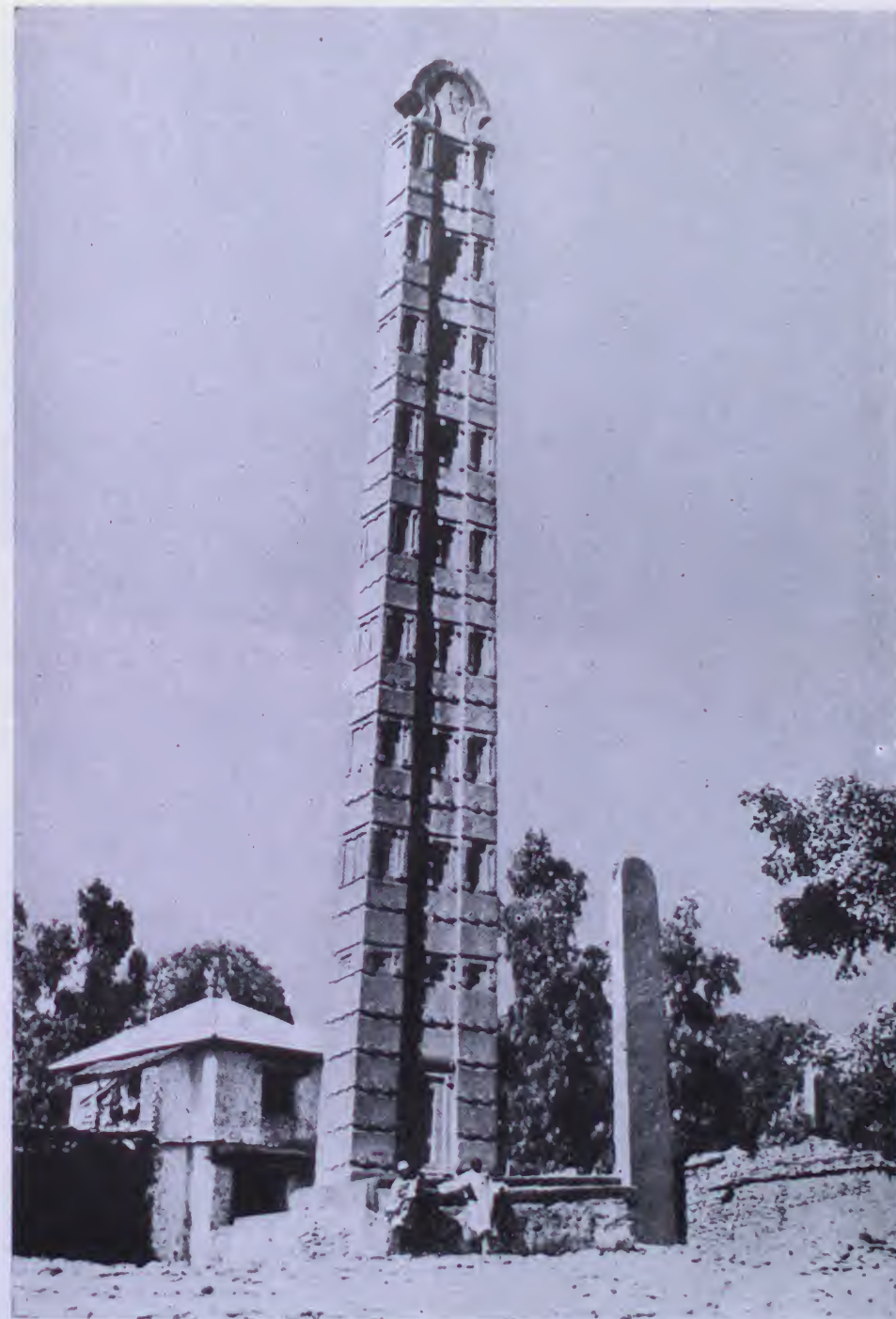




3



4



5. Obelisk in Aksum (see p. 69)

IV.



6. Bronze head, Benin, early 16th century



7. Bronze tablet with pearls, Benin, 17th century



8. Ivory figure inlaid with copper, Benin, 18th century



9. Bronze figure of horseman, Benin, 17th century

V.

6-15.
Works of art of peoples
of West Africa



10. Throne set with pearls, Cameroons



11. Decoration of a battle boat, Douala (Cameroons)



12. Terra-cotta head, Ife (Nigeria),
13th century



13. Moulded copper head, Ife
(Nigeria), 13th century



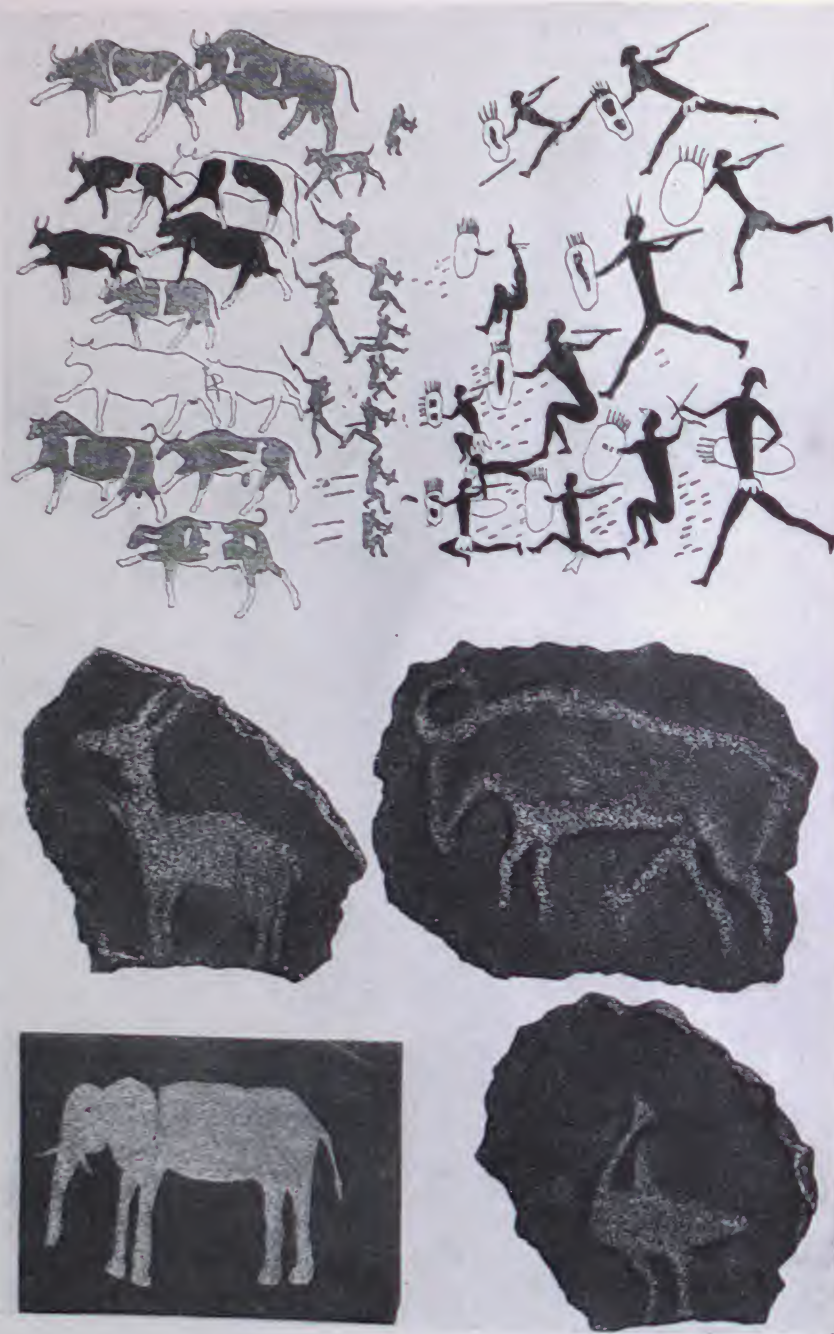
14. Wooden statue, Dahomey



15. Polished ebony statuette, Bakuba
Kingdom (Congo)



16. Capital city of the Loango State about the middle of the 17th century (see p. 62)



17. Cave paintings of the Saan (see pp. 78–79)

Bushongo had their own State organization long before the rise of the Lunda empire. It was a large-scale tribal federation in which the Bambala played the leading role. The chief of this tribe was at the same time the king (*nyimi*) of the country. For his own tribe he was also the temporal and spiritual leader, being a descendant of his idolized ancestor who had founded the tribe, BUMBALA, who in the belief of the Bushongo had mastered the sunshine and the rain. It was unbecoming to the king to touch the ground with his feet, but he was carried on men's shoulders, and when he sat down it was on the back of a slave. The king had six male ministers: the "prime minister" (*kimi kambu*), the minister of war (*nyibita*) and representatives of every one of the chiefs of the four provinces into which the country was divided (these provinces were governed by the king's sons or nephews), and two female ministers, one of whom decided the question of war and peace. Besides, the king had a large staff of court dignitaries, representatives of the trades, and the tribal groups (including even the Pygmies). There was among the courtiers a "royal historian", the keeper of traditions and legends, who had to be a descendant of the royal family. The king's mother, who was considered higher ranking than the king himself, attended the king's meetings with his ministers, occupying there a place of honour. Formally, the king was an absolute monarch, but in reality he had little say in the affairs, since the representatives of the provinces, tribal groups and trades were chosen by election, and all matters were decided upon by public opinion, even in opposition to the king's wishes.

When acceding to the throne, the king of the Bushongo had to recite the list of his predecessors, which amounted to about 120 names. The majority of those ancestors were only mythological figures, but there are among them historic persons, too, such as the national hero of the Bushongo, SHAMBA BALONGONGO, whose name is associated with the creation of their present-day system of government, the abolishment of war (he forbade the use of the bow and arrow and of the thrown knife), the advancement of agriculture (he introduced the culture of oil-palms, cassava, tobacco, etc.) and of the various trades.

The Warua State

The Warua are a large people inhabiting the southeast regions of the forest area in the Congo (Lualaba, Luapula). The Warua are the largest of the intermediate peoples between the Western and the Eastern Bantu. At present they are (together with the *Wamanyema* and the *Waregga*) the main intermediaries in the trade between the peoples of the Congo Basin and the peoples of East Equatorial Africa (Tanganyika). Long before the appearance of the Europeans all the Rua tribes were united in a large tribal alliance, the "Kingdom of Rua" or "Kingdom of Kasongo", which was divided into districts. Every district was headed by a chief appointed by the king for a term of four years. The Rua king enjoyed certain privileges unknown in the other Western Bantu States: he was regarded as divinity and as husband of all the women of his country (with the exception of his mother). As a god, he was supposed to need neither food nor drink, and therefore he ate and drank in secret, without anybody seeing him. The king's sons had the right to make use as they pleased of the food and any other property of their father's subjects. A particular place among the Rua was held by the king's sister, who was considered to be the wife of the chief god, the founder of the State, whose idol — an omnipotent fetish — stood in a wood which only the king and his sister were free to enter. The first wife of the king had the right to govern the country in the king's absence, and in the event of her death

the king had to lie for a few days beside the dead body in the common bed. When the king died, his wives were buried alive together with their dead husband. The Warua people were constantly exposed to plunderings, first, on the part of their own king, his sons and the various chiefs and, later, on the part of Arab and other slave-dealers.

THE HAMITO-SEMITIC PEOPLES OF AFRICA

The general population of North and Northeast Africa consists of *Hamitic* peoples. At present, Hamitic languages are spoken by approximately 30 million people on about one-fifth of the African continent. Bernhard STRUCK's classification assigns to the group of Hamitic languages 47 main tongues and 71 dialects.¹

Scientists could not as yet agree on the matter of the origin of the Hamites. Some consider them to have immigrated from Asia. Others in turn count them among the aboriginal Africans like the Sudanese. Again others think their tribes issued from the mixture of Sudanese and Semitic peoples. But, be this as it may, the fact remains that from time immemorial—before the dawn of history—a large number of Hamitic nationalities inhabited not only North Africa (the Atlas countries, the Sahara, Egypt) from where they long ago penetrated even into the Western and Central Sudan countries, but also the northeast corner of the continent (a part of the Eastern Sudan, Ethiopia, the Somali countries).

The second main element of the population of North and Northeast Africa is constituted by *Semites*. Already in ancient times, the northern and northeast regions of the African continent were not only under Semitic (Phoenician and Arab) influence, but also were the object of Semitic colonization. Namely, the wave of migrations from the Arabian peninsula into Northeast Africa has advanced almost uninterruptedly since ancient times. Arab migration into Africa increased especially from the 7th century onwards, after the rise of Islam. Northeast Africa became a territory with a mixed population of Hamitic and Semitic tribes. (The third element of the population were — as already stated — the Sudanese tribes which migrated there from the west and settled down among Hamitic and Semitic nomads.)

In respect of both their language and their historic fate the Hamites subdivide into *Northern* and *Eastern Hamites*.

To the Northern Hamites belong the sedentary *Berber* peoples of the countries of the Atlas Mountains (Morocco, Algeria, Tripoli) and the nomadic *Tuaregs* of the western Sahara.

In olden times the *Berbers* were already in contact with the Semitic newcomers and partly even mixed with them and adopted their language and culture. In the history of Tropical Africa these peoples are but indirectly involved, so far as they have maintained trade contacts with the peoples of the Western and Central Sudan from ancient times.

Related by origin to the Berber peoples are the so-called *Moors*, an extremely mixed people. Moreover, we must strictly distinguish two different groups of Berbers by the same name. The Moors of the Atlas countries (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia) are sedentary people; they are mostly civilized town-dwellers and, despite their Moslem religion, sharply differ in customs from the nomadic Arabs and even from the sedentary Arab villagers of these countries. The Moors of Senegal, who played an important

¹ See C. G. SELIGMAN, *Races of Africa* (3rd ed. London, 1959), p. 85.

part in the later and modern history of their country, however, have nothing in common with the Moors of the Berber towns, except their name, language and religion. They are not civilized townspeople, their majority lead nomadic life; they are strongly mixed with the Arabs (to whom they are closely related both in customs and in appearance), as well as with the Sudanese tribes (of Senegambia in particular).¹

The *Tuaregs*, although for their nomadic mode of life they stand closer to the Arabs than do the Berbers, did not mix with the Arabs and did not submit to Arab influence, except that they adopted Islam. The outstanding role they played in the history of the Western Sudan States has already been mentioned elsewhere in this book.²

Within the family of the Eastern Hamites again we have to distinguish two groups: the *Cushitic* tribes and the group of the *Hamito-Semites*.

In the most ancient times the name "Cushites" belonged to one certain tribe, the forebear of the *Nubian* or *Barabra* people of our day;³ the designation "Cushites" as a general term is now used to denote those Eastern Hamitic tribes which, despite their secular contacts with the Semites, have preserved their Hamitic character up to the present day. Some of these peoples took over various elements of the Semitic culture, in particular, the Semitic religion (the majority of the Somalis and the Danakils became Mohammedans, the Falashas are Jews), but they have all retained their Hamitic languages and have not mixed with the Arabs physically. At the same time, as already mentioned, certain Hamitic (Cushitic) tribes long ago entered into contact with the peoples of the Sudan, others in turn with the Eastern Bantu, the result being that, on the one hand, these Hamitic tribes themselves became strongly mixed and, on the other, there emerged those mixed peoples — "Nilotes" and "Hamiticized Bantu" — of which we have already spoken above (as well as the "semi-Hamites" of whom we are still going to speak⁴), and the Wahuma States were formed in East Africa. The most important of this group are the *Somalis*, *Gallas*, *Danakils*, *Nubians* (*Barabra*), *Agau*, *Bogo*, *Falasha*, etc. The Nubians and the Somalis among them appeared on the stage of history in ancient times and in the early Middle Ages. To this group belong the *Wahuma* and the *Wahinda* tribes which, wandering into the region of the Great Lakes, founded the Wahuma States.

The family of the Eastern Hamites gave birth to two great historical peoples who, unlike the Cushites, in the earliest times became fully Hamiticized not only in language but, to a considerable extent, also in culture and created their peculiar Hamito-Semitic civilizations. We refer to the Egyptian people whose civilization flourished thousands of years before our era,⁵ and to the Ethiopians who created their own

¹ See the description of the Moors of the Mediterranean countries in RECLUS, *Nouvelle géographie universelle*, vol. xi, p. 196, and that of the Moors of Senegal, *ibid.*, vol. xii, p. 202 and ff.

² See p. 50 and ff.

³ As to the history of the Nubians, see below, p. 68. ff. The Barabra or Nubians today are the main nationality living along the banks of the middle course of the Nile, approximately between Khartoum and Wadi Halfa. The other names given to this people by the Europeans (Berberine, etc.) are merely distorted forms of the word "Barabra", which has nothing to do with the notion of "barbarism" but is only a variant of the ancient name of this people, "Baraberata", as the Egyptians called them thousands of years ago.

⁴ See p. 78.

⁵ From the rich literature on Egypt and the Egyptians the following works may be recommended to begin with: A. B. CLOT-BEY, *L'Egypte*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1842); E. ABUT, *Le Fellah* (Paris, 1869; 3rd ed.: 1873); G. EBERS, *L'Egypte*, Translated by Maspéro. 2 vols. (Paris, 1881); MEYER (ed.), *Geschichte des alten Aegyptens* (Berlin, 1887); E. W. LANE, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 2 vols. (London, 1871–75); D'HARCOURT, *L'Egypte et les Egyptiens* (Paris, 1889); G. ELIOT SMITH, *The Ancient Egyptians and the Origin of Civilization* (London, 1923).

singular civilization around the dawn of our era. Both in ancient times and during the Middle Ages Egyptian civilization, as mentioned several times, acted noticeably upon the existence and destinies of the peoples of the Sudan countries. Their contacts with Egypt, as we are going to see below, played an extremely important part in the ancient and mediaeval history of the Eastern Sudan and Ethiopia. But the history of Egypt and of the Egyptian people, which is the most significant chapter in the history of North Africa, does not belong to the province of our research. However, we are very much interested in the ancient and mediaeval history of Ethiopia.

From among the Eastern Hamitic peoples we have to point out the special, transitional situation of the *Beja* tribes.

The Nubians and Nubia

The mixture of a Hamitic tribe of the Cushites, who in the earliest times lived in the region of the lower course of the Nile south of Egypt, with a number of other Hamitic tribes gave birth to a new great people, the *Nubians (Barabra)*. They occupied, in common with some Sudanese tribes, a great portion of what was later known as the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and in time assimilated diverse Sudanese elements. In the earliest times (about 2,000 years before our era) Egypt subdued this entire territory. For many centuries, it was from this "Land of Cush" that Egypt acquired slaves (from among both the Nubian and the Sudanese tribes), ivory, gold and timber for shipbuilding. In about 1000 B. C. a dynasty that had lost its power in Egypt settled down in the Land of Cush and established a new independent State, *Napata*, which in the 9th and 8th centuries B. C. extended its rule also over Egypt. In 668 B. C. the "Ethiopian troops" of *Napata* (which also consisted of Nubians and Sudanese) were driven out of Egypt by the Assyrians. Following this, the power in *Napata* came into the hands of Egyptian priests, and the sovereigns of *Napata* transferred their capital city toward the south, to Meroe. And when at the end of the 6th century the northern part of the country was invaded by the Persians who had conquered Egypt, the southern part continued to exist as the "Meroe State." It lasted until about the beginning of our era, but we know nothing about its history during those five hundred years.

At the beginning of our era this State broke up into two parts: the northern part again appeared on the scene of history as *Napata*, or *Nubia*, and the southern part was called *Aksum* (as to this latter, see below). In the 4th century A.D. the emperors of *Nubia* embraced Christianity, and after Egypt's conversion to Islam (639) *Nubia* became a refuge for the Egyptian Christians. But at the same time (7th century) *Nubia* began to be attacked from the east by Arabs, pagan tribes first, which had escaped Islam, and Moslem tribes later, which soon spread out over the entire northern and central region of the later Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, cutting off *Nubia* completely from the other Christian country, *Aksum*, and from the territory of the Sudanese tribes in the south which was *Nubia's* economic basis. At that time the State's capital city was already *Dongola*. In 651 the Arab conquerors of Egypt besieged *Dongola* but could not take it. For several centuries afterwards *Nubia* held out against the recurring attempts of the Egyptian sultans to take possession of the country or at least to convert it to Islam. *Dongola* surrendered at last in 1275. *Nubia* became a tributary to Egypt, and its emperors adopted Islam.

After this the Arab invasion of the country increased, and *Nubia* gradually fell to small pieces, every one of them being under the control of one or another Arab tribe.

In the district bordering upon Ethiopia the Arabs founded the State of *Sennar* which, later on, in 1500, was conquered by the *Funj* tribe.

In view of the utmost scarcity of the information we have of these Nubian States, it is difficult to judge their character. It is hardly probable that the elements of Egyptian culture and of the slave-holding system brought in by the runaway rulers and priests (or, later on, the elements of Greco-Roman culture which penetrated into *Nubia* through the same Egypt or also through *Aksum* at a still later date) could temporarily — to a more or less considerable extent — strike root in a country whose general population consisted of nomadic shepherds (the Nubians) and primitive agricultural peasants (the Sudanese) who, as we know, preserved their tribal manners and organization without any substantial changes until the 19th century. The State organs set up by the Egyptians, and later by the Arab tribes, were rather alien institutions which exhausted the African population over many centuries (extorting from it tributes, slaves, soldiers, forced labour), but did not change the substance of their social organization.

The main inhabitants of these countries, the *Barabra*, were the suffering participants of all these historic transformations: they had to pay taxes, they were sold into slavery, they were recruited for the army, they were put to forced labour. Nevertheless, the conquerors transmitted to them, of course, also many elements of their higher culture. And while the ancient Egyptian and the Christian culture, being completely alien to them, could not in any considerable degree, or more or less stably, strike root among them, the centuries-old effect of the Arab influence (lasting even up to the present day) has left very noticeable marks on them. The main result of this Arab influence was their conversion to the Moslem religion, of which they are zealous followers. Besides, almost all *Barabra* have learned to read and write in Arabic. They have borrowed a little from the material culture and customs of the Arab tribes. In spite of all, they could over thousands of years preserve their particular national character distinguishing them both from the Arabs and from the other Hamitic tribes of the Eastern Sudan. Unlike the other Hamitic peoples and Arab tribes of the Sudan, the *Barabra* are almost exclusively land-tilling peasants, most of their tribes keeping only poultry and goats.

The State of Aksum and the Birth of Ethiopia

A different course of development lay ahead of the other great country in the east corner of Africa — Ethiopia. While the Nubian States were founded by foreign immigrants, the Ethiopian State sprang from the African soil.

The territories of present-day Ethiopia and the Somali countries were from olden times inhabited by two great peoples: Hamitic (Cush, Galla, Somali) and Sudanese tribes. Like other regions of East Africa, that area was the scene of the "Hamitization of the Negroes" and of the birth of new "Nilotic" peoples. In addition, some of the Hamitic tribes of this area strongly mixed with the Arabs who, in the earliest times, had migrated there in large masses across the Red Sea from Southern Arabia (chiefly from the kingdom of *Saba*). This mixture of Hamites with Arabs, which took place, however, not without absorbing a considerable amount of Sudanese blood, gave rise to those peoples (the *Amharas*, etc.) which later on founded the Ethiopian State and constitute to this day the predominant element of the population of Ethiopia.

The northern part of Ethiopia (*Tigré*) in the last centuries before our era belonged to the Nubian State of Meroe, and at the very beginning of our era—owing mainly

to the already prevailing Arab influence—constituted a separate State: "Aksum".

The State of Aksum had Ethiopian rulers but was under strong Arab influence. This was the only country of all Black Africa in which slavery as an economic structure reached the height of its development in ancient times.

During several centuries the State of Aksum with its seaport Aduma was the most important trading centre of East Africa and took part in the transit trade carried on between Egypt, Greece and Syria, on the one hand, and India, on the other. It exported from Africa chiefly ivory, gold dust, raw hides and "perfumes". It maintained close commercial and cultural contacts with the Greco-Roman world.

These contacts substantiate the country's early conversion to Christianity (4th century), which reached Ethiopia in the form of Monophysitism. After conversion the State of Aksum entered into alliance with the Eastern Roman Empire and in the 6th century, in alliance with it, subjugated Yemen. Later it supported Yemen in its war against Iran, but Yemen was soon vanquished by Iran, upon which Aksum itself also fell under Iranian influence.

The decline of trade between the Mediterranean countries and India, as well as the change in trade routes, in the 7th century led to the decline of Aksum. It was definitively destroyed as a consequence of the rise of Islam and the creation of the Caliphate in Arabia. Moslem Arabia took possession of the African coast of the Red Sea, too, and Aksum was completely shut off from the sea.

As a result, Aksum forced its expansion (which had begun in the 4th century) towards the south and conquered more and more lands of the Cushite and Sudanese (Nilotic) tribes and the Gallas. This expansion of the small State of Aksum into the powerful Ethiopia (reaching approximately its actual size) lasted for several centuries and resulted in both quantitative and qualitative changes: the war leaders of the campaigns of conquest changed into feudalistic princes, the former slave-holding State gave way to feudal conditions—feudalism was in the making. The feudal rulers fought for the throne, and the struggle ended in the 13th century, when the feudal ruler of the Shoa province, under the pretext of "restoring the dynasty of Solomon",¹ seized the power over all other feudal lords.

For a few centuries the history of new-born feudal Ethiopia flowed under the sign of the "struggle with the Moslems". The entire Red Sea coast and the East African coastal section which later came under Italian control as Italian Somaliland, that is, all the outlets of Ethiopia to the sea, were in the hands of the "Moslems". In other places there existed small principalities of various Hamitic tribes (Somalis, Danakils, etc.) that had adopted Islam. These principalities were military tribal alliances established in the struggle for independence against the Ethiopian conquerors. The most important of them was Adel (in the place of today's Ogaden). They were all under strong Arab influence, and Arab trade capital, seeking control over Ethiopia, supported their liberation struggle in its own interest. The struggle became very acute early in the 14th century, during the reign of AMDA SION in Ethiopia (1312—1342). From that time on the struggle continued with some interruptions to become permanent in the second half of the 15th century. The history of the reign of three Ethiopian rulers of whom we have documentary evidence (ZARA JACOB, 1434—1468; BEDA MARIAM, 1468—1478; ISKANDER, 1478—1495) is pregnant with wars against the "kingdom of Adel" and the other "Mohammedan provinces".

¹ Ethiopian legends identify the biblical "kingdom of Sheba" (whose queen is said to have visited King Solomon) with Ethiopia and say that the ancient Ethiopian kings were offspring of the son of the "Queen of Sheba" born of her marriage with Solomon.

The Origin of the Somalis

The question of the origin of the Somalis and of their early history is not clarified scientifically. In this respect ethnographers and historians hold opposite views varying between two extremes. According to the first one, it should be taken for granted that the ancestors of the Somalis lived in the northeast corner of Africa, particularly on the Somali coast, as early as two to three thousand years before our era and stood on the highest level of barbarism. According to the other view the Somalis appeared in Africa relatively late (some say in the 7th century, others think in the 12th or the 13th century), either as immigrants from Arabia, or as a mixture of some peoples of East Africa with the Arab immigrants.

The first view is built on the evidence gained from the frescoes of an Egyptian temple and numerous other archaeological finds.

In the epoch of prosperity under the 18th Dynasty (16th century B. C.) Queen HATSEPSUT of Egypt sent a trade expedition to "the land of myrrh and incense" — Punt. The expedition of eight vessels returned from this "land of incense" with heaps of treasures, partly paid in tribute to Egypt by the inhabitants of Punt, partly obtained by the Egyptians in exchange for metal wares, mainly arms. The story of this expedition is depicted on a series of frescoes in a Theban temple at Deir el Bahri. One of these wall-paintings represents a scene in which the inhabitants of Punt hand over to the Egyptians their tribute of gum, incense and myrrh, and, among others, the sovereign of Punt—an elderly, plump, fat woman—greets the Egyptians. We can see on the fresco cedar trees brought from Punt and various animals, two species of baboons among them. Another fresco represents the inhabitants of Punt at home. These wall-paintings were discovered by DÜMICHEN and became known through his book.¹

Relying on this, archaeologists, geographers and historians started to discuss on the location of Punt. There are three differing views:

1. In the opinion of the French archaeologist LE ROUGET, the German Egyptologist BRUGSCH and others, Punt was situated in Southern Arabia.

2. HILDEBRANT, MARIETTE, SCHWEINFURTH and others hold the view that the Punt of the Egyptologists must have been identical with the *aromatria regio* known to the ancient Romans, that is, with the northern part of the Somali coast adjoining the Gulf of Aden.²

3. Finally, the Frenchman RÉVOIL, on the basis of his research in the Somali countries, has come to the conclusion that Punt must have been situated on the southern part of the Somali coast, on the shores of the Indian Ocean, in the region of the town of Barawa and the Webi River.³

Relying on one or the other of these latter two opinions, the majority of the scientists think that Punt existed in the territory inhabited now by the Somali tribes. And, since the inhabitants of Punt as represented on the frescoes very much resemble the Somalis of our day for their clothes and appearance, this permits of the conclusion that the Somalis lived in these regions already at the time of the above-mentioned Egyptian expedition, that is, 1,500 years before our era, and that Punt was

¹ DÜMICHEN, *Die Flotte einer ägyptischen Königin* (Leipzig, 1868). Punt is also mentioned in other Egyptian inscriptions that became known before Dümichen's discovery. See also H. K. BRUGSCH, *Geographie der Nachbarländer Aegyptens* (Leipzig, 1858).

² See MARIETTE-BEY, *Itinéraire de la Haute-Egypte avec une description des monuments antiques, situés sur les rives du Nil* (Paris, n. d.).

³ "La Vallée du Darror", ch. xii in *Archéologie et ethnographie*.

their country. Further, considering that these ancient inhabitants of Punt used metals, we may draw the conclusion that the flint implements found in many places in the Somali regions belong to a still remoter epoch, and that, consequently, the Somalis have lived in these parts for at least 3,500 to 3,600 years.¹

Those who adhere to this view refer, in addition to the frescoes, to a large number of other, more concrete, archaeological finds. GUILLAIN has discovered the ruins of an ancient city near Varshek. HEUGLIN has visited an old Somali settlement 20 kilometres from Berbera, where he has found the ruins of fortifications, tombs, irrigation systems, etc. In the same place, HILDEBRANT has collected fragments of glass utensils, varnished bowls, stone and alabaster vases, enamelled and glass bracelets, precious stones and pearls. In the same region RÉVOIL has discovered numerous round tumuli with huge stone heaps in their centres and scattered all over with shells, fishbones and broken stone, bronze and iron implements and utensils.

The supporters of the opposite view, who consider the Somalis to be relatively recent immigrants from across the sea,² have the following two main arguments to set forth: 1. the evidence of the excavations carried on in the coast region allows us to take for granted that the Gallas once lived around Zeila and in certain regions of the Somali coast of the Indian Ocean, and 2. the Somalis display a substantially closer resemblance to and kinship with the Arabs than with the Gallas, etc.³

This view is confirmed, among other things, by legends of the Somalis themselves about their ancestors' immigration from Arabia.

BRENNER has published the following legend, which is widespread among the northern Somalis and which he heard from the learned Sheik ABDIO ENNUR in 1866:

In the time of the prophet Mohammed the forebears of the Somalis of our day — an Arab tribe — lived in Mecca. When they came into conflict with one of the chief Moslem tribes of Mecca — the Beni-Kuraish — the prophet ordered the ancestors of the Somalis to flee under the guidance of a kinsman of one of the prophet's close friends, ABU-BEKR. They complied with the order of the prophet, sailed across the Red Sea and alighted on the Somali coast somewhere near Cape Guardafui. One group of them founded a settlement in the same region and entered into trade contacts with Habesh (Ethiopia) and the Hadhramaut coast. They married Arab women and became the forefathers of the "true" Somalis (the Somali tribes living on the north). Until their arrival the country as a whole was in the hands of a few Galla tribes. Another group of these Arab immigrants advanced farther west. This part of the newcomers married Galla girls and became the ancestors of the southern Somalis.

Another variant of this legend about the Arab origin of the Somalis is spread, as witnessed by PAULITSCHKE, also among the northern tribes. According to it the case happened somewhat differently. A member of the Koreishite clan of the Hashimites living in Arabia, a warrior by the name of ARAB, wandered into Africa towards the end of the 12th century, that is, almost 600 years after the hegira, and founded a powerful State whose capital was at Zeila or in its environs. The northern Somali

¹ See RECLUS, *op. cit.*, vol. xiii, p. 736.

² See SELIGMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

³ According to Prof. HAHN, "The Somali peoples, or at least part of them undoubtedly migrated into Africa from southern and southwest Arabia and drove the Galla peoples — who in the 15th century lived on the shores of the Indian Ocean — ever farther west and southwest. Out of these two ethnic elements, the Gallas and the Somalis, the latter at any rate made their appearance in Africa at a later date. Reminiscent of the Gallas are the tombs and the peculiar stone structures which, according to ROBECCHI-BRICCHETTI and DONALDSON-SMITH, are found in the northeast region that is no longer inhabited by the Gallas." (*Op. cit.*, p. 294.)

tribes (Hashiya) issued from ARAB's family. Later on, these tribes divided into two subgroups, because ARAB had two great-grandsons, DAROT (or TARUD) and ISHAK. DAROT became the forefather of the Mijertin, Warsangeli, Dolbohanti tribes, etc., while ISHAK's offspring were the Eisa, Gadibursi and all those tribes whose name is preceded by the word "Habr", such as the Habr-Tol, Habr-Ghar-Haji, Habr-Awal, etc. According to the legend, Sheik ISHAK died in Malet (Mehed), the seaport town of the Habr-Ghar-Haji tribe. In the days of yore the aged Somalis from the neighbourhood used to gather at the holy tomb of ISHAK to be buried beside the earthly remains of that holy man. The town's huts were grouped around the tomb, and only later was the town transferred to the west, near the mouth of a stream.

RÉVOIL gives a third variant of this same legend saying that DAROT, the forebear of all the Somalis, was a savage Arab warrior living in the ravines of the Adde Mountains (according to a subvariant: in the deserts) and he was miraculously fed out of the hands of God. He was a follower and fervent propagator of Islam. Approximately 80 to 90 years after the flight of Mohammed he arrived on the African coast, married a shepherdess and began propagating in Africa the teaching of Mohammed. The Mijertin, Warsangeli and other tribes are his descendants.

Besides these principal variants there are several legends about settlements established by shipwrecked Arabs (who by marrying local girls originated one or another Somali tribe) in the regions of Northeast Africa now occupied by the Somalis.

All these legends, however, prove but one thing: The majority of the Somalis, who know nothing of their real origin and — as becomes to fervent Moslems — are anxious to have holy men among their ancestors, claim to be descendants of the Arab Koreishite family. According to RÉVOIL, many of them claim to be closely related to the prophet, and indicate houses at Mecca as having been built by the ancestors of the Somalis.¹ It is not by chance that all these legends have spread, above all, among the northern Somalis who are most of all mixed with the Arabs.

Finally, the view that the Somalis derive from the mixture of Gallas with Arabs is based on the (real or imaginary) evidence of comparative anthropology, or more precisely on the close kinship of the Somalis with the Gallas and on their unquestionable mixing with Arabs.

PAULITSCHKE claims that the Somalis, like the Danakils, in respect of their origin are only a branch of the Gallas, that they constitute simply the northeastern Galla tribes which, owing to their strong mixture with the Arabs, "turned" into Somalis and Danakils² approximately in the 7th century of our era.

In the opinion of RATZEL, the Somalis are "a branch of the Galla peoples most of all affected by alien influence and mixed with alien elements". He thinks that the Somalis first lived farther west of their present territories, but later, driven by other "Galla peoples", wandered eastward, to the coast regions, and the result was that "by reason of their situation they had to maintain frequent contacts with Arabia" and mixed with the Arabs to a considerable extent. This is how the Somali people was born which, therefore, is an Arabized Galla people or, in the words of RATZEL, "an Arab branch on the Galla trunk".³

It is interesting to note that the same HAHN, who, as we have seen, seems to be convinced that the Somalis "doubtless immigrated into Africa from Arabia", turns out to be far from sure in his belief, since in another place he writes the following:

¹ *Voyage au Cap des Aromates*, p. 257.

² See *Beiträge . . .*, on p. 90. below.

³ *Op. cit.* vol. ii, pp. 185, 182.

"It will be most proper to consider the Gallas, the Masai and the Somalis mixed peoples who hold an intermediate place between the Negroes and the Hamito-Semitic groups. The latter probably came from the east, from Southern Arabia, or from the north, from Egypt, towards the west or the south, and later, in the 16th century, withdrew from the interior part of the continent again towards the northeast. There the tribes which had gone farther east mixed with the Arabs who had settled on the seacoast, and this was the origin of the mixed Somali people."¹

It appears that the Somalis as such did not come from Arabia but originated from the African soil, from the mixture of certain Hamitic peoples with Arabs, as late as the 16th century at that!

It is highly probable that the Punt country was situated somewhere in the present-day territory of the Somalis. This assumption is definitely confirmed by the fact that the above-mentioned Egyptian frescoes display products of just those regions, together with certain products and animals of East Equatorial Africa (ivory, baboons, giraffes).

But even if we could ascertain the identity of Punt with *aromatria regio*, this would not prove by any means that the inhabitants of Punt were also identical with the ancestors of the Somalis of our day. The argument of their clothing (the alleged resemblance of the garments of the Punt inhabitants to those of the Somalis of our time) is inconclusive if we take into account that the present-day clothing of the Somalis is a manifest product partly of the Ethiopian and partly of the Arab influence. The reference to their "appearance" we cannot regard as serious evidence either, for the anthropologists who try to solve the problem on the basis of exterior marks are groping about in the dark.² Further excavations in the ancient cities of the Somali coast may convey us some idea about the character of that borrowed culture which flourished here in ancient times, and about the extent to which the inhabitants of Punt assimilated that culture (for the time being great uncertainty prevails in this respect), but such fragments cannot answer the question of what kind of people the inhabitants of Punt were, whether they were indeed Somalis or Gallas or whether they left those regions or they became extinct long before the arrival of the Somalis. Moreover, owing to absence among the Somalis of the high culture which, as is evidenced by the excavations, was the property of the inhabitants of these regions, such future excavations may argue *rather against than for* the supposition that the Somalis have lived in these regions from time immemorial. We shall see later that the primitive plates and bowls of the Somalis do not resemble the precious utensils of the ancient Punt inhabitants. True, this gives us no reason to consider the question of the ancient African history of the Somalis exhausted (that is, settled in a negative sense), yet the excavations cannot be looked upon as an argument in the affirmative.

The second opinion (in which the Somalis immigrated from Arabia after the rise of Islam and drove off the Gallas) also lacks evidence. There is no proof to claim that the coast regions were in the past inhabited by Galla tribes. The Galla tombs, etc., found there do not prove anything, for Gallas and Somalis might have lived pell-mell in one and the same region or changed residence several times. The fact that the Somalis are strongly mixed with Arabs does not tell us *where* that mixing took

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 292.

² I. M. HILDEBRANT writes about the peoples inhabiting Northeast Africa, "Although I have dealt with this complex of peoples for a number of years, it has always been difficult for me to find out at first sight whether a certain individual belongs to the dark-skinned Hadra-Arabs, the Somalis, the Gallas, the Danakils, the Beja, the Masai, the Ikamba or the M'jagga." (Quoted from RATZEL, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 170.)

place. It might have been in Arabia, or in Africa where Arab immigration undoubtedly began long before the rise of Islam. Finally, as far as the folklore of the Somalis themselves is concerned, it is utterly impossible to believe in it or to find out how much of it is truth and how much only fantasy. The migrations, marriages, etc. narrated in them might have taken place partly in reality, partly somewhat differently — not at the times and not in just the conditions referred to in the legends. However it may have been, one thing is beyond doubt: at least part of the Somalis, if at all they came from Arabia, immigrated prior to Islam or at any rate in the years of its appearance, running away from Islam or some of its followers, but not later than the 7th and 8th centuries. Obvious proof of this is the existence of Somali tribes which have never adopted Islam but fought against it.

Finally, those who claim that certain Galla tribes turned into Somalis by mixing with Arabs put in a completely weak argument. If there existed no Somalis (and Danakils) yet, but only one people which they call the "Gallas", then they obviously speak of a time when the actual kindred peoples of common origin—the Gallas, the Somalis and the Danakils—had not yet developed into separate peoples of common origin but still constituted one single people (which the authors of this theory, lacking data of any kind about their real name, like to designate by the name of the Gallas of our time!). When and where these peoples separated is not known. This might have happened either in Africa or in Arabia. In all probability it was still before our era,¹ but undoubtedly before Islam, and by no means in the 16th century as is maintained by HAHN.

Therefore, the question of the origin of the Somalis, or rather of their historical fate in the earliest times, is not clear.

The facts we know for certain, however, are satisfactory enough to account for the situation they were in, the role they played and the socio-economic and cultural evolution they underwent already in the light of history.

Data on the Ancient and Mediaeval History of the Somalis

There is no doubt that the Somali coast was known to the ancient world. The Egyptians maintained trade contacts with the African littoral of the Red Sea and with the Somali coast of the Indian Ocean long before our era. This coast was not unknown to the Greeks and the Romans either and was visited by navigators who gave it the name "aromatic region" (*aromatria regio*). In certain geographical works of the Romans there are even references to its inhabitants. For example, STRABO in his treatise of Africa describes in detail the burial ceremonies among the inhabitants of those areas, these rites being very similar to the customs practised by the Somalis up to this day (throwing pebbles at the dead body, etc.). ARIENUS, a Roman merchant of Egyptian descent, relating his journey along the shores of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, in his work (written in about 85 of our era that is, in the time between PLINY and PROLEMY) describes the indigenous tribe "Avalitae", which name evidently covers the Habr-Awal tribe. He relates also that the inhabitants of the island of Socotra were subjected to the "King of the Land of Incense".

The town of Berbera undoubtedly existed already in the earliest times. Its name has in fact preserved the name "Barbaria" given by the ancient Greeks to the south coast of the Gulf of Aden. Nevertheless, the town of Berbera, as it was at the time of

¹ See the evidence of STRABO and others below

its seizure by the British in the eighties of the 19th century, was only a wretched residue of what it had once been. The heaps of splintered glass and clay dispersed throughout the environs of the town over a long distance witness that the town was in the past several times its present size. Not far away from it, towards the north-west, are the ruins of another, more ancient, town of the Somalis: Bender Abbas.

In the first few centuries of our era the Somali coast of the Red Sea belonged to the powerful State of Aksum and partook of its flourishing trade. It is beyond doubt that there were some trade and other contacts between the populations of the Somali coast (especially of the southern region of the Gulf of Aden) and other countries (first of all, the Arabian coast lands) already in the first centuries of our era, but we have no exact and reliable knowledge of such external relations of the peoples inhabiting the Somali coast prior to the rise of Islam.

The first reliable information of the appearance of Arabs on the Somali coast dates from the year 704. Following that date the Arab immigration went on steadily. Owing to their influence, a series of commercial towns emerged: Mogadishu, founded by the Arabs in 908; Barawa, established at about the same time, some think, also by Arabs or, as others believe, by the Somalis under Arab influence. Along with the Arabs appeared also the Moslem Persians. (On the coast near Barawa ruins of towers with Persian inscriptions have remained from that period.) In the course of the 8th to 12th centuries (the period of "unrest" in Ethiopia), under the influence of the Mohammedan colonizers a number of minor and major independent Mohammedan sultanates (in later times Portuguese and other European sources usually refer to them as "kingdoms"): Adel, Dara, Zeila, etc. appeared between Ethiopia and the coast region. The entire Red Sea coast, that is, Ethiopia's all outlets to the Red Sea which had been in the hands of the State of Aksum, as well as the Somali coast of the Indian Ocean, were incorporated by these Mohammedan States which started a centuries-long struggle against Ethiopia, for independence.

EDRISI, an Arabian geographer of the 12th century, was already familiar not only with the coast but with certain interior regions, and gave a description of the main river of those countries, the Webi, which he called "the Nile of Mogadishu". A famous Arab traveller, IBN-BATUTA, visited Mogadishu in 1337. He describes it as a prospering city and says that the interior region adjoining the city was under the control of Arab immigrants and of the nomadic Adjur tribes.

In the 13th century almost the entire northeast corner of Africa was held by the "Moslems". Certain coast regions were the possessions of Arab "sultans" and "sheiks" with a predominant population of Somali, Danakil and other Hamitic tribes that had embraced Islam. In other coastal regions and in the interior areas these tribes themselves founded small Mohammedan States governed by "sultans" or "sheiks". Reference to the strong Arab influence in these States and to their struggles with Ethiopia has already been made above.

For the Mohammedan States that existed between Ethiopia and the seacoast, and for the wars against Ethiopia, both Arabic and Ethiopic sources are available.¹ They undoubtedly testify that many of these countries were primitive State formations (tribal alliances) of the *Somalis* who yielded to the strong Arab influence and in certain cases even to the power of the Arab "sultans". But to find out and delimit the role played in these countries and wars by the Somalis themselves, in contrast with the other kindred tribes that had been converted to Islam, is impossible because what the Arabic and Ethiopic chronicles refer to are not the Amharas, the Somalis,

¹ See, in particular, RINCK, *Macrizi Historia regnorum islamiticorum in Abyssinia* (1790).

the Danakils, etc., but the "Christians" or "Abyssinians" on the one hand and the "Moslems" on the other.

The Beja Tribes

The Beja nationality includes four groups of tribes. The northernmost group — the *Ababda* — and the southernmost group — the *Beni Amer* — belong to the Hamito-Semites (the *Ababda* show a close affinity with the Egyptians and have adopted the Arabic language; the *Beni Amer* are under strong Ethiopian influence and speak the language of Tigré), while the central groups — the *Bisharin* and the *Hadendoa* — have preserved their Hamitic language, that is, their Cushitic character. Unlike the Egyptians and the Ethiopians, however, the linguistic differences between the *Ababda* and the *Beni Amer* are but slightly reflected on the uniform national character of the Beja, because Semitization did not go beyond the field of language. All four of these groups — not only the Cushitic *Bisharin* and *Hadendoa*, but also the Egyptianized *Ababda* and the Ethiopianized *Beni Amer* — equally submitted to the *Arab* influence in religion (all of them are fervent Mohammedans) and adopted Arab clothing, but in the socio-economic field — like the Somalis, Danakils and the other Cushites — they have almost completely preserved their old manners: neither the Egyptian influence on the north nor the Ethiopian influence on the south prompted the nomadic, pastoral Beja tribes to settle down and even the most ardent devotion to Islam could not induce them to get rid of the vigorous remnants of their former matriarchal system. (For instance, marriage among the *Hadendoa* is matrilineal: the newly married couple have to spend the first three years of marriage in the family of the bride, and during that time the young husband has to help his wife's father in all matters as a son.) However, the adoption of Islam and the transition from the matriarchal to the patriarchal system among the Beja took place only toward the end of the period under discussion (in the 15th century), as it appears from the evidence of MACRIZI who early in the 15th century wrote of their living still in matriarchy, without any religion, and wearing almost nothing for clothing.

"They are nomads", writes MACRIZI, "living in skin tents which they carry wherever they find pastures. Their genealogies are counted in the female line. Each tribe has a chief but they recognize no paramount. They have no religion. Property passes to the sons of sister and daughter to the prejudice of the sons of the deceased. To justify this custom they say that there can be no doubt as to the parentage of the son and daughter of a sister and these must belong to the family, whether their mother had gotten them by her husband or by another man. They formerly had a paramount chief to whom all the other chiefs were subordinate".

In another place MACRIZI says that both men and women go naked, having no other covering than a loin cloth, while the majority of them lack even this.¹

The Arabs of Tropical and South Africa

An important part in the mediaeval history of Black Africa was played, besides the Semiticized Hamites, also by the Arabs. Mention has several times been made above of their penetration into the countries of the Sudan and the east coast. More

¹ Quoted from SELIGMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 92 — 93.

details concerning the Arab penetration of Black Africa, the Arab colonization of Africa and the Arab travellers of the middle ages will be found in the next chapter treating the contacts of Black Africa with the non-African peoples of the ancient and mediaeval world.

The Semi-Hamites

An outstanding role in the history of East Africa fell to the *Masai* tribes and the tribes akin to them: the *Wakuazi*, *Nandi*, *Suk*, *Karamoyo*, *Turkana*, etc. In respect of language these tribes belong to the group of the Hamitic peoples. As to culture and customs, they have much in common with the Nilotic tribes. This is why they are usually called "semi-Hamites" or "Nilo-Hamites". Nevertheless, their historical destinies during the past centuries were closely connected with the fate of the Eastern Bantu: many tribes of the latter were strongly influenced by the semi-Hamites who, in turn, also borrowed much from them, so that at present the semi-Hamites have much resemblance also to the Eastern Bantu group. Thus the semi-Hamites are a transitional group having common features with all three great families of African peoples. Since they appeared on the scene of history only in a later period, we shall deal with them elsewhere.¹

THE KHOI-KHOI AND THE SAAN PEOPLES

The southwest corner of the African continent has from time immemorial belonged to the *Khoi-Khoi* and the *Saan* peoples. As regards the origin of these two peoples, there are very different theories and conjectures, but all these are nothing else than hypotheses containing more or less (rather less than more) grains of probability. Thus, for instance, there is a hypothesis saying that the *Saan* are pristine inhabitants of Africa. According to another theory they are the product of the mixing of the "pygmy" tribes of Africa with Hamites, etc. The most widely held view concerning the *Khoi-Khoi* is that they were born of the mixture of the *Saan* with the Hamites.

But while, with respect to the racial origin of these peoples, science is groping in complete darkness, in respect of their prehistoric migrations it is possible to build more well-grounded hypotheses on concrete data furnished by archaeology and linguistics. The following can be taken for scientifically established facts:

- (a) in the South African territories where the Europeans found them in the 16th century, they had been living for many hundreds (if not thousands) of years before the appearance of the Europeans and long before the arrival of the Bantu;
- (b) the *Saan* are more ancient inhabitants of these regions than are the *Khoi-Khoi*;
- (c) the *Saan* came into South Africa from the north, and the *Khoi-Khoi* from the northeast, in all probability from the region of the Great Lakes;
- (d) in an earlier period of their history the *Khoi-Khoi* maintained some contacts with the Hamites.

It is usual in ethnographical literature, in the classification of the African peoples, to take these two nationalities together into one group of the "*Khoi-Saan* (*Khoisan*) peoples". This classification is based upon the resemblance of their racial characteristics and languages. It is usual to assign the tribes of the *Berg-Damara* to this same

group on the ground that they speak the language of the *Khoi-Khoi* (the *Namaqua*), although the origin of these tribes has nothing in common with the *Khoi-Khoi* or the *Saan*.

True, the mode of life of the *Berg-Damara* has affinities with the *Saan*, but in respect of their physical appearance they resemble neither the *Saan* nor the *Khoi-Khoi*. In the opinion of WEULE, the *Berg-Damara* "long ago gave up their vernacular in favour of the Hottentot,¹ for their primitive mode of life they resemble the Bushmen, and for their exterior they are Negroes".² Other explorers point out that, although the *Damara* speak the language of the *Khoi-Khoi*, their language contains also some elements of the Sudanic languages. Relying on this observation, certain scientists assume that the *Berg-Damara* are offshoot of the Sudanese tribes which happened to have wandered, nobody knows what way, into the southwest part of the continent already in the earliest times.

Such a one-sided classification set up by the linguists or the anthropologists on the basis of a superficial observation (not on the ground of the *relationship* of languages, but first on the ground of linguistic *resemblances* and then of the *adoption* of a language) or on the basis of certain affinities of physical appearance (of the *Khoi-Khoi* and the *Saan*) or of the mode of life (of the *Saan* and the *Damara*) would be completely inadmissible from the point of view of the ethnographer. If he is to be consistent, the ethnographer, in setting up a classification of the African peoples, ought to take each of these three groups of peoples separately, and should not speak of any "*Khoisan*" group. But if, for all that, we retain and adopt this classification, we do so without accepting the unwarranted motivation given by its authors, but by relying on another, *historical*, ground, so far as modern history has bound together the destinies of these three peoples regardless of their origin, races and languages.

The *Saan* tribes (together with the "Pygmies") are the most backward nationalities of Africa. At the time of their first encounters with Europeans (17th century) they were still primitive hunters. Living in forests by hunting, they also gathered edible roots, fruits, etc. They were in a stage of savagery, but already at its highest level: not only did they know the bow and arrow, but they had several more complicated hunting weapons and practised even arts of their own (rock-paintings, etc.). At the time of the European invasion (mid-17th century) they did not yield to enslavement. The majority of the *Saan* were exterminated by the Dutch, their surviving parts being driven across the Orange River beyond the frontiers of the Cape Colony.

The *Khoi-Khoi* were also backward tribes in comparison with the Bantu, but considerably superior to the *Saan* on the cultural side. Having attained the stage of barbarism, they were familiar with the art of making pottery and raised cattle. They wandered with their herds from pasture to pasture. Formerly they occupied the entire southern part of Africa. Being ousted from the northeast by the Bantu peoples, they drove towards the west the *Saan* tribes with which they inhabited one and the same territory in common. When in the 17th century the Dutch intruded upon their country, they resisted them, but afterwards part of their tribes were driven deep into the country, while the rest of them were subjugated.

Of the *Berg-Damara*, who live at present in the northern half of Southwest Africa, dispersed in groups among Herero and *Khoi-Khoi* tribes we know for certain only that by the time of the European penetration of those regions they already lived there, in the territory of the Hereros and the *Khoi-Khoi*, partly in the mountains,

¹ See pp. 151—152 and 257 and ff.

¹ As to the designations "Hottentot", "Bushman", "Negro", see foot-notes on pp. 16, 46.

² See K. WEULE, *Leitfaden der Völkerkunde* (Leipzig—Vienna, 1912), p. 79.

hiding from both of the latter, partly in the bondage of the Khoi-Khoi tribes. Both the Hereros and the Khoi-Khoi in the past regarded them as inferior beings, killing and enslaving them cruelly.

THE "PYGMY" TRIBES

Scattered among Bantu (and partly Hamitic) tribes in certain regions of Equatorial Africa—in a belt of tropical forests between 6°N. lat. and 6°S. lat. and in some regions of southern Angola—there live several groups of primitive hunters who in the ethnographical and geographical literature were given the general name of "Pygmies", "dwarfs", "Negritos" or "Negrillos". The most important among them are the *Akka* tribes in the region of the upper reaches of the Uele and Nile Rivers; the *Batwa* (Bambutu) tribes in the region between the Kasai River and the middle course of the Congo; the *Obongo* tribes, etc. in the northwestern section of Gabon, south of the Ogowe River, and the *Doko* tribe in the basin of the Omo River in Ethiopia.

The racial origin of these ethnic groups has not yet been clarified scientifically. Some scientists consider them to be physically degenerated and culturally backward offshoot of other African races and peoples (Bantu, Sudanese); others regard them as being akin to the Saan; according to a view most widely spread in the literature, they are a peculiar type of the primitive inhabitants of Africa; certain scientists are inclined even to see in them the most ancient representatives of primitive humanity.¹ The data on them available so far to science do not furnish sufficient basis to solve the problem of their origin, or to recognize, in their different groups, representatives of one or another particular racial or ethnic group. The anthropological measurements of representatives of the different "pygmy" groups are far from coincident; the colour of some of these groups is described as "very dark", others as "yellowish brown", again others as "brownish"; the only feature common with all of them is their low stature, which, however, does not justify us in calling them "Pygmies", that is, "dwarfs", since their medium height is 140 centimetres. This means that they are not dwarfs, but only low-statured people. What they have in common, in their modes of life, economic activities and cultural standards, however, enables us to give a socio-economic description of them: they live in small groups, in conglomerations of huts of their own, built of branches and grass in the depths of forests and numbering not more than a few hundred; all these groups distinguish themselves with the absence of both agriculture and cattle-breeding; they live by hunting (making use of poisoned arrows and setting traps) and gathering wild-growing fruits, and are engaged in bartering trade with the tribes in whose territory they live, exchanging game for agricultural produce. These features reveal that these peoples are on some low level of development, but fail to convince us that they are of common origin and belong to one single racial or ethnic group, the more so since we know nothing of the internal organization of their society and since we cannot know whether it is the same in all their groups. In vain do we resort, in trying to solve this problem, to the help of linguistic criteria, since what the travellers relate about the language of the "Pygmies" is only that they speak the languages of their Bantu neighbours or that

¹ See P. W. SCHMIDT, *Die Stellung der Pygmäenvölker in der Entwicklungsgeschichte des Menschen* (Stuttgart, 1910); *idem*, *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, vol. iv: "Die Religionen der Urvölker Afrikas" (Münster i. W., 1933); P. SCHEBESTA, *Bambuti* (Leipzig, 1932); *idem*, *Vollblutneger und Halbzuerge* (Salzburg—Leipzig, 1934); P. SCHEBESTA and W. LEBZELTER, *Anthropology of Central African Pygmies in the Belgian Congo* (Prague, 1933).

their languages "are completely unidentified". Some of these tribes have an idea of a certain supreme being, but it appeared in many cases that they borrowed this idea from other neighbouring (Bantu and Hamitic) peoples.

THE PEOPLES OF MADAGASCAR

The population of Madagascar consists of two elements: the tribes of Malayan origin that immigrated into Madagascar in several waves, and the Bantu who came there from the East African coast. But the process of mixing between these two elements (and also between the Malayan tribes which had come into the island in various waves of migrations) was so steady and deep that it is no longer possible to distinguish them in the present-day population of Madagascar, because at present the entire population of the island (except the immigrants of modern times) speaks different dialects of the same Indonesian language. (Even the Antimerina, the language that is most different from the others, is only a dialect of this common language.) The only difference permitting a division of the Malagasy tribes into two groups is that the tribes in the western half of the island are rather mixed and akin in character to the Africans, while the eastern and central parts of the island are inhabited by less mixed tribes, consisting of more recent immigrants who have preserved a higher degree of their Malayan character.

The question is which of these two elements — the Malaysians or the Bantu — constituted the main primitive population of Madagascar, that is, which one of the two groups immigrated into the island before the other. This question is not yet clarified scientifically. Some researchers try to prove that there was and there could be no Bantu immigration into the island, explaining the existence of the "Negro element" in Madagascar by asserting that some individual "Negroes" happened to come there as slaves. Others in turn try to dispute the Malayan immigration and develop the theory¹ that elements of the Malayan culture (chiefly of the language) were found among the Bantu immigrants as a result of the arrival of shipwrecked Malayan pirates, etc.

All these views are unfounded. What is beyond doubt is the Malayan origin of the population of Madagascar and a strong influx of Bantus. It is highly probable that the Bantu immigrants mixed with the Malaysians who had come there prior to them or came after them (which we cannot know), and that afterwards these peoples, owing to a new influx of Malayan tribes from the east, were compelled to withdraw into the western half of the island, ceding the eastern half to the newcomers who did not mix with them but preserved their Malayan character.

However that may have been, the fact is that by the dawn of history both of these groups lived there, the eastern tribes being engaged in agriculture (growing rice, sugar cane, taro), while the western tribes were chiefly cattle-raisers. Before the appearance of Europeans the tribes lived separately, and there was no kind of permanent tribal alliances. The ancestral system was preserved on the whole, but the majority of the tribes, especially in the west, still lived under matriarchal law and practised exogamy. Between the tribes (in particular between those of the west, on the one hand, and those of the east, on the other) hostilities and wars were permanent from time imme-

¹ For example, CRAWFORD, and also WAKE. As to the dispute over the origin of the population of Madagascar, see the monograph by SIBREE (indicated on p. 208), ch. v, and the book of HARTMANN, *Madagaskar*, etc. (Leipzig, 1886), pp. 42—45.

morial. The cause of wars lay, among others, in the fact that some of the western tribes, mainly the Antimerina, had held slaves from olden times. The main masses of the slaves were offspring of the Malagasy tribes captured in war.

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RELATIONS OF PEOPLES OF THE ANCIENT AND MEDIAEVAL
WORLD WITH BLACK AFRICA

In the history of the relations of peoples of Antiquity and the Middle Ages with Tropical and South Africa we have to distinguish three stages:

1. Attempts by peoples of Antiquity to discover and explore Africa.
2. Arab penetration into Africa and the voyages of Arabs and Europeans in the early Middle Ages.
3. Discovery of Black Africa by the Portuguese in the age of the great discoveries.

What Did the Ancient World Know of Africa?

The part of Africa under discussion was almost completely unknown to the ancient world. What they knew of in that time were Egypt and the Mediterranean countries of the north coast and the vast desert stretching south of these countries. But the countries lying beyond it, with a few insignificant exceptions, were and remained to the ancient world a mysterious and terrible, fantastic empire inhabited by monstrous human beings and brutes, and possessing immense riches.

Of all the countries and regions of Africa lying south of 20°N. the only one which is known to have played a part in ancient history was Ethiopia ("Abyssinia") along with a few countries in the territory of the Eastern Sudan: Nubia, Napata and Meroe. With these countries the Egyptians and Phoenicians, the Greeks and Romans alike had trade contacts and war conflicts. The peoples of the ancient world traded also with some parts of the west and especially the east coast of Africa. On the west coast, though, these trade contacts, the leading part of which fell to Phoenicians and Carthaginians, did not go far beyond Gibraltar, and at any rate not farther than the present-day Spanish colony of Rio de Oro. On the other hand, the Arabs already in ancient times established a series of trading stations and settlements on the east coast, from the Somali coast to as far as Mozambique and Quelimane, which were more or less regularly visited by Arab and even Greek merchants.

The whole of South and Central Africa and the countries of the Guinea coast, however, were completely unknown to the ancient world. The peoples of Antiquity knew only that south of the great desert there stretched countries of black people, whom the Greeks and Romans called by the same name as the inhabitants of Abyssinia — "Ethiopians". But the ancient world had no reliable knowledge of these countries and peoples although the Carthaginians long before our era had regular contacts with them, and the Romans at times organized military expeditions into those countries in the first centuries of our era. The Carthaginians exported their

products, mainly salt, into the Western Sudan countries as far as the Niger River, and imported from there slaves, gold, precious stones and dates. But this trade was on the whole carried on through mediators of nomadic tribes of the deserts. The Carthaginians themselves only rarely ventured into the countries of the "Ethiopians". According to traditions, a Carthaginian merchant travelled three times with trade caravans through the desert into the black countries. But even though the Carthaginians acquired some knowledge of these countries and their inhabitants, they preferred to keep it for themselves in their own commercial interest. As to the Romans, though, they did not keep back their knowledge, but what they knew of these countries and peoples from their occasional conflicts with them was rather deficient and superficial.

The First Attempts to Explore Africa. The Expeditions of Pharaoh Necho, the Carthaginian Hanno and King Cambyses

The first attempts to explore the "dark continent" were made towards the end of the 7th and in the 6th century before our era. We know of three such expeditions: two of them were undertaken to explore the African coast (NECHO and HANNO) and the third (CAMBYSES) went into the interior of Africa.

In 603 before our era, Pharaoh NECHO (or NIKU) II of Egypt sent from the Gulf of Suez an expedition of Phoenician navigators with the task of cruising through the Red Sea and then farther along the coast of Africa to sail round its southern extremity and through the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar) and the Mediterranean back to Egypt. The voyage of the Phoenicians lasted three years and was successfully terminated. Of what they learned about the countries and peoples they saw we know nothing, because no written document has remained from the voyagers themselves. But thanks to the narratives of HERODOTUS the fact of this expedition has been fully confirmed.

The Greek historian relates two interesting details: 1. the Phoenicians made two landings and stayed for a long time on the coast, sowed grain and sailed off after harvest; and 2. during their voyage round Africa, according to their statement, "they had the sun on their right hand". HERODOTUS narrated this latter incident as a curiosity invented by the voyagers, for he did not believe it himself. Nevertheless, exactly what seemed to him an invented story is to us proof of the fact that the expedition did circumnavigate Africa, spending a long time on the southern hemisphere, beyond the Equator, where the sun at midday is in the north of the sky, not in the southern sky, that is, to the spectator facing the west, it appears on the right side, not on the left. We can thus ascertain the fact that the first voyage round Africa was carried out by Phoenician mariners at least a thousand years in advance of the Portuguese.

The second maritime expedition along the African coast was sent out by the Carthaginians under the command of HANNO, the son of HAMILCAR, in the opposite direction, from Carthage via Gibraltar along the west coast, in the 6th or early in the 5th century before our era. The time of this expedition is not quite certain. Some researchers think it took place as early as 570. The task of this expedition was a less pretentious one: it had to explore the west coast only, its equipment was, however, very strong. It consisted of 60 vessels with fifty oars each. The crew were altogether 30,000 strong. This large number finds its explanation in the fact that, in addition to exploration, the expedition had a practical mission: a significant part

of its crew was made up of families of colonists destined to settle down in the Carthaginian trading centres that existed on the northwest coast of Africa. On the way these colonists little by little disembarked on the coast. Having fulfilled this part of their task by establishing a series of new Carthaginian settlements, among others Kerne in the territory of today's Rio de Oro, the vessels sailed southward and, passing the Senegal and Gambia Rivers and Cape Verde, reached the coast of present-day Sierra Leone and Sherbro Island (7° 30' N.). The lack of supplies forced them to return from there.

The story of this expedition was committed to paper in Punic by HANNO himself, but we know of it only through a surviving Greek translation. The most interesting passage in HANNO's narrative is his description of the expedition's meeting with indigenous people. In the region of the Senegal River they had a clash with "wild men wearing the skins of beasts" who would not let them land, throwing stones at those who wanted to disembark on the coast. Sailing farther southward they landed in the country of the "Ethiopians" who spoke a language completely unknown to the expedition's African interpreter and who ran away from them. Another time the voyagers stopped by a forest-clad island where in daylight they did not spot any human being, but by night they saw many fires and heard "the sounds of flutes, cymbals and tympani and loud shouts", whereupon they were "seized by fright", and "the oracles ordered" them to leave the island. At the very end of their voyage, on Sherbro Island, they joined "battle" with the savage inhabitants of this island — "chimpanzees" which they took for savage people and called "gorillas".¹ They could not capture "men", that is males, because these "ran away, grappling rocks and defending themselves with stones". But they captured and killed three females, pulled off their skins, carried them as trophies to Carthage and displayed them in a temple as skins of the "savage women" they had killed.

The first attempt to explore the interior of Africa was made, according to tradition related by ancient Greek authors, by King CAMBYSES of Persia at the end of the 6th century before our era. As this tradition states, CAMBYSES after his conquest of Egypt (525) and his unsuccessful campaign against Ethiopia decided to explore the upper reaches of the Nile, and at the head of an entire army he himself set out via Nubia into the valley of the White Nile and disappeared with his troops in the deserts of the upper Nile without leaving a trace.

Exploratory Activities and Geographical Works of Ancient Greeks and Romans

The peoples of classical Antiquity — the Greeks and Romans — themselves did almost nothing to explore Black Africa. They carried on trade and wars with the countries of North Africa. Apart from merchants and generals, some scholarly men of Greece and Rome were also sent to these countries and did some exploratory work. The Greeks had certain trade contacts also with the east coast of Africa and the adjacent islands. But it was only a rare exception that a Greek or Roman crossed the mysterious threshold of the unknown lands of interior Africa.

¹ This is how, according to HANNO, his interpreter called these "savage people". These were, in all probability, chimpanzees, not gorillas, because gorillas are not found in this region of Africa, their home being farther to the south, in lower Guinea. When later on, in the fifties of the 19th century, Paul CHAILLU first saw them in Gabon, he also called them "gorillas", borrowing this name from what HANNO had told about his adventurous expedition.

Nevertheless, the ancient Greeks and Romans have great merits in adding to the knowledge mankind had of the African continent. The Greeks (from the 5th century) and the Romans (from the 2nd century) showed keen interest in anything that concerned the mysterious "black continent". Generals were interested in the countries of Tropical Africa as the hinterland of Egypt and Nubia. Merchants dreamt of broadening commercial relations by discovering new countries of whose fabulous wealth legends circulated. Passionate searchers of knowledge dreamt of finding out the structure of the universe. For want of more or less significant exploration on their own account, they followed with the keenest interest the expeditions undertaken by other peoples. Their scholars and writers painstakingly collected any information available on Africa.

Early in the 5th century before our era the Greek HEKATAEUS OF MILETUS, and in the mid-century the famous Greek historian, HERODOTUS, travelled throughout Egypt and described it. As far as other parts of Africa are concerned, they narrated in their works only what they could gather from the traditions of the Egyptians and the stories of contemporary travellers. The case was the same, in the middle of the 3rd century, with the Greek ERATOSTHENES (276—196), the librarian of the Ptolemies at Alexandria. In the middle of the 2nd century the Greek military historian POLYBIUS, who was in Roman service, explored and described the north coast and the littoral of (present-day) Mauritania. The only Greek to undertake a serious exploration of Africa south of 20° N. was EUDOXUS OF CYZICUS who, at the end of the 2nd century before our era, ventured upon a voyage along the west coast, starting from Gibraltar, with the intention of sailing round Africa. How far he got is impossible to ascertain, but he might have reached what is now known as the Cameroons, since — according to him — he met with "Ethiopians" speaking the same language as the inhabitants of the east coast, that is, apparently with Bantu nationalities. About 50 of our era a Greek merchant, a certain DIOGENES, took a long trip into the interior areas of East Africa.

In the 1st and 2nd centuries Romans sailed round the coasts of the Red Sea (AELIUS GALLUS in A. D. 24), conducted a few military expeditions against the "country of the Ethiopians", by which we have probably to understand the Central Sudan countries of Bornu and Kanem (GAIUS PETRONIUS in the first half of the 1st century, SEPTIMUS FLACCUS and JULIUS MATERNUS in the 2nd century), and Emperor NERO in 66 sent the first scientific expedition into the heart of Africa under the command of two centurions to explore the course of the Nile. This expedition explored indeed the White Nile as far as the mouth of the Bahr el Ghazal and Sobat Rivers (9° N.) and gave a detailed description of the grass barrages found on that part of the Nile.

It was on the basis of these and similar expeditions and of the information contained in Greek, Egyptian and other sources that Roman scholars, authors of geographical collections, compiled those parts of their works that described Africa. We have knowledge of four such collections: those of STRABO, POMPONIUS MELA and PLINY from the 1st century, and of CLAUDIUS PTOLEMAEUS (PTOLEMY) from the 2nd century. Of them STRABO and PTOLEMY themselves journeyed along the Nile, the latter also on the Red Sea. The most valuable of these works is the book of PTOLEMY.

In addition to these works of Roman authors, in about 80 of our era two geographical collections appeared in Alexandria giving an account of what the Greco-Roman world knew about Africa. One of them was compiled by an unknown Greek merchant (*Periplus of the Red Sea*), the other by the Syrian MARINUS of TYRE. The latter's book perished in the destruction of the library at Alexandria, but that part of it which deals with the sources of the Nile is quoted by PTOLEMY almost word for word.

Early in the 1st century an excellent treatise of *The Sources of the Nile* was written by JUBA, king of Numidia (27 before our era to 23 of our era). This work is also lost, but PLINY made ample use of it.

The ancient peoples undertook exploratory work only on a small scale and unsystematically at that. Despite the scrupulous efforts of Greek and Roman authors to find out the truth, their conceptions of Africa and especially of its interior areas remained extremely nebulous and were far from corresponding to reality.

For example, HERODOTUS described the Nile as a single river taking its source in West Africa and flowing from there in an almost straight line into the region of Meroe in Nubia where it turned north.

HERODOTUS and later STRABO both believed that Africa did not stretch very far to the south. They imagined that the whole of the African continent was only slightly larger than the Arabian peninsula. King JUBA thought that the Nile was connected with the Niger and, taking its source in Western Mauritania, traversed some lakes in an underground course. PLINY mixed up the Niger with the Dra'a river (south of Morocco) and the Nile with the Niger. Even the famous PTOLEMY had an utterly curious conception of the river system of Africa, combining real facts with fantasy. He knew of all three great rivers of interior Africa. According to him, the Nile rises from two different great lakes in the south, at the foot of the Mountains of the Moon, from where the two branches combined flow straight to the north. In his view there are two great rivers in the interior areas — the Niger and the Gir; both of them take their sources somewhere in the heart of Africa, one flowing west, the other east, and both falling into a great lake. Thus he supposes that in the heart of the continent, at about the same distance from the Mediterranean and the Equator, there are two great lakes — "Lake Nigritis" near the west coast, and "Lake Helonida" not far from the east coast. This entire conception seems to reflect the vague allusion of Arab travellers to the Great Lakes of East Africa, on the one hand, and to Lake Chad, on the other.

As a consequence, in the early Middle Ages the peoples of Europe and Asia had extremely scanty knowledge of even the geographical character of Africa, their conception of this continent being nebulous and wrong.

Our interest in the history of the ancient peoples' expeditions and explorations in Black Africa and in their knowledge of that continent is mainly historical although, of course, it also has a bearing on the ancient peoples themselves. These voyages had no effect at all on the fate of Africa itself, and therefore they are unimportant from the point of view of the subsequent history of Africa.

Arab Penetration into Africa. Arab Travellers of the Middle Ages. Awakening of Mediaeval Europe's Interest in Africa

At the beginning of the Middle Ages the exploration of Africa was in a state of complete stagnation. Christian Europe was not interested in Africa (except the few Christian countries of Northeast Africa which will be discussed below). The works of the great geographers of Antiquity were buried in dark oblivion. Mediaeval maps conveyed utter nonsense about Africa; for instance, that the Nile divides Africa and Asia. Even the slight and random trade contacts the ancient Greeks and Romans had established with various points of Tropical Africa were discontinued in mediaeval Europe. While Christian Europe was not interested in the African continent, the Arabs took up the task of the further discovery and exploration of Africa. This task was part of their plans of conquest to turn the continent into a colonial market.

The first Arab settlements on the east coast were established already in the pre-Islam period. In the 7th century some Arab settlements existed also in the northern regions of the Niger River and in the northern part of Senegal. After the appearance of Islam, owing to the emergence of large and powerful Arab States in Asia and in North Africa, there arose, in certain countries of Central Africa and particularly on the east coast, many Arab cities and even States ("sultanates"), usually vassal countries dependent on the great sultanates of Arabia itself. These Arab cities and sultanates existed throughout the Middle Ages. They traded with other Arab countries, India, etc.; their chief export was gold.

Of the history of these Arab cities and States, as well as of their contacts with other countries of Africa (in the western and central areas), we have very slight knowledge. It is beyond doubt, however, that, in some degree and form, the Arab influence left noticeable marks upon the development of many African peoples and also on a number of peoples of the west and the interior of Central Africa. The relations of African peoples with Arab merchants promoted the development of the traffic in slaves and slavery as well as trade in general.

Simultaneously with their commercial and colonizing activities, the Arabs carried on an important work of exploration. In the 10th century the Arab travellers MASUDI and IBN-HAWQAL visited certain points of the coast and described them. In the 12th century, a new map of Africa was drafted and published by the Arabian geographer EDRISI on the basis of data furnished by various Arab travellers. In the middle of the 14th century, the Arab IBN-BATUTA went on a journey in the Sudan, reached the Niger River and visited Timbuktu. But the bits of information supplied by the Arab travellers were desultory and inaccurate. The map made by EDRISI was but little different from the incongruous maps of the ancient world.

The first explorer to have a scientific authority was evidently IBN-BATUTA. But of his works on his travels in the Western Sudan there have remained, unfortunately, only divers short narratives which, for example, do not contain the description of Timbuktu. He could not get rid either of the many erroneous ideas conceived by authors of ancient times and the early Middle Ages. For instance, he also confused the Niger River with the Nile, he thought that Timbuktu was four miles away from the Nile, and described his departure "farther on the Nile in a boat made of the bark of a single tree".

From the 12th century onwards, interest in Africa arose again in mediaeval Europe. BENJAMIN OF TUDELA in the 12th century traversed the Red Sea, visited the island of Socotra and even Ethiopia, from where he returned to Cairo on the Nile. In the 13th century MARCO POLO, returning from his famous voyage to China, went to the islands of Madagascar, Zanzibar and Socotra and brought with him certain information on the interior of Africa, particularly on Ethiopia. But the information given by these travellers on the unknown interior part of the continent was even more nebulous than the Arab statements. Later the Portuguese had to "rediscover" Ethiopia even after the two above-mentioned European travellers had visited it. On the maps published in Italy in the 14th and in the middle of the 15th centuries the outlines of the African coasts began to approximate reality for the first time but the representation of the interior areas of the continent showed the same absurdities as the ancient maps.

The first serious discoveries and explorations on the coasts of Africa were pursued by the Portuguese in the 15th century.

In 1415 the Portuguese took the stronghold of the Moors, Ceuta, on the Moroccan coast. Prince ENRIQUE (HENRY), son of King JOHN I of Portugal, took part in the siege and capture of the fortress. During his stay in Morocco he not only became acquainted with this country, but he heard much about the interior regions of Africa lying south of Morocco, in particular Timbuktu. His interest in this new, unknown world being aroused, he decided to organize the exploration of the African continent after his return to Portugal.

The first step to the discovery of the coasts of Black Africa was the expedition round Cape Bojador sent by Prince ENRIQUE and carried out by GIL EANES in 1434.

In 1441–42 ANTONIO GONSALVEZ and NUNO TRISTAM sailed past Cape Blanco and on the way back from Rio de Oro brought with them some gold dust and ten “Negro” slaves.

Still in 1442 Portugal obtained from the Pope a bull granting her exclusive rights to all lands that might be discovered between Cape Bojador and India.

After this followed discovery upon discovery for more than a half century. In 1445 JOÃO FERNANDES carried out the first travel into the depths of the continent, setting out from Rio de Oro and exploring a part of the Sahara for seven months. Following this, in 1446, DINIZ DIAZ reached the mouth of the Senegal River and discovered Cape Verde. In 1448, LANCEROT explored the coast as far as the Gambia River. In 1445–56, the Italians LUIGI DA CADAMOSTO and USO DI MARE under Portuguese commission discovered the Cape Verde Islands, explored the region of the Senegal and Gambia Rivers and brought back much information on Timbuktu. In 1460, DIOGO GOMEZ discovered the river and mountain peninsula of Sierra Leone. In 1462, PEDRO DE SINTRA explored the coast as far as Cape Palmas (in modern Liberia). Thus it was that by the sixties of the 15th century the major part of the upper Guinea coast was explored and included in the “possessions” of the king of Portugal.

In 1469 King ALFONSO (“the African”) of Portugal granted exclusive rights to African trade to FERNANDO GOMEZ for five years with the stipulation that every year an additional 300 miles of coast line in West Africa south of Sierra Leone would be explored. Following this, the Portuguese forced their advance. During the twelve subsequent years (1469–1481) the agents of GOMEZ explored the entire coast from (today’s) Liberia to the Cape of St. Catharine. Already in 1471 his agents appeared on the Gold Coast and began trading in gold. It was his agents who in 1470–71 discovered the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe, Fernando Po and Annobón.

The Portuguese successes aroused covetous desires in the British. England was already prepared to send an expedition to Guinea but a protest from Portugal compelled her this time to renounce her plans (1481).

In 1482, the Portuguese expedition of DIOGO CAM crossed the mouth of the Ogowe River, discovered the Congo river and, sailing upstream, reached Boma. In 1485 the same CAM with a stronger expedition once again sailed up the Congo as far as the mouth of the Mpozo, near Yellala falls. On his way back from this expedition CAM brought with him some aborigines to Portugal.

In 1486, JOÃO ALFONSO D’AVARO discovered Benin.

In 1487, PERO D’EVORA and GONZALEZ EANNES conducted an expedition with a view to exploring the interior of Africa. They started from (present-day) Senegal to visit Timbuktu. The Portuguese claim to have reached Timbuktu in reality.

Considerably more significant were two subsequent expeditions — those of BARTHOLOMEU DIAZ and PEDRO DE COVILHAM, sent out in 1486–87 in two directions: the

former had to circumnavigate Africa from the west, and the latter had to sail through the Red Sea. The goal set to both of them was the same: to reach India, gather accurate information on the Arab settlements along the east coast and verify the rumours of “the Christian State of Prester JOHN” existing in the interior of Africa.

From the end of the 13th century the legend of “the land of Prester JOHN” spread throughout Europe. It said that after the Ottoman empire had conquered “the Holy Land” — Palestine — and a number of Christian countries, a certain Christian priest, “Prester JOHN”, with thousands of believers, escaping the Moslem yoke, wandered far off either into Africa or into Asia and created there a Christian State that existed as a secluded Christian island in a sea of Moslem States and “savage” pagan peoples. The most widely spread hypothesis at first was that this mysterious Christian empire was in China or thereabouts. But when after the voyage of MARCO POLO it appeared that it was neither in China nor in India, and that the peoples of Asia knew nothing of it at all, then the legend stayed with Africa. The legend was confirmed by the fact that from time to time vague rumours of Ethiopia spread in Europe. And when Africans, whom DIOGO CAM brought with him from the Guinea coast in 1485, convinced the Portuguese that far to the northeast of their country in the depths of Africa was a great empire whose sovereign used a copper cross as an emblem of his power, then the king of Portugal, seeing in this the confirmation of the rumour of “the land of Prester JOHN”, decided to clarify this problem and sent two expeditions at once to search after this mysterious empire.

BARTHOLOMEU DIAZ sailed along the west coast, rounded the southern tip of the African continent (without seeing the Cape because of the storm) and reached the mouth of the Great Fish River. Compelled by his crew to turn back, he was the first European to sight the Cape of Good Hope, which he named “Cape of Storms”. Later on the king of Portugal renamed it “Cape of Good Hope”, since he concluded from what DIAZ related that the hope for the Portuguese to discover at last the long sought-for sea route to India was justified.

COVILHAM and PAYVA went to Egypt together. From there PAYVA tried to get into Ethiopia, but he was slain on the Sudan coast (near today’s Suakin). COVILHAM sailed via the Red Sea to India, and on his way back he was the first European to visit the north coast of Madagascar and several points of the east coast of Africa, Sofala among them, which at that time was a flourishing Arab colony, centre of the trade in the gold obtained from Monomotapa. Reaching Egypt, COVILHAM sent word of his voyage to the king of Portugal and, embarking on the Somali coast (at present-day Zeila), set out for Ethiopia where he arrived in 1491.

The information gathered by DIAZ and COVILHAM prompted the king of Portugal to send a big expedition with the task of sailing to India round the Cape of Good Hope and visiting on its way the Arab colonies of the east coast to become acquainted with them more thoroughly. Led by VASCO DE GAMA, this expedition set off with four vessels and 169 men on July 8, 1497. On November 18 it rounded the Cape and, turning to the north, landed in a bay of the southeast coast on Christmas Day. VASCO DE GAMA gave the landing place the name “Christmas Harbour” (Port Natal). Then, visiting Sofala, Mozambique and Malindi, he sailed on to India. On his way back, in 1498, he stopped by Mozambique and explored the region of Quelimane for a month. Arriving home, he reported to his sovereign on the flourishing Arab cities, ports and colonies of the East African coast and the adjacent islands, on their trade contacts with the interior of Africa and on the difficulties he had had in certain places of the east coast because of the hostile attitude of the Arabs.

The results of the Portuguese discoveries can be summed up as follows:

1. They discovered the entire western littoral, as a result of which they started trading systematically with the coast peoples and (by the very end of the 15th century) penetrated into the Congo countries (DIOGO CAM).

2. They rounded the Cape of Good Hope (BARTHOLOMEU DIAZ, VASCO DE GAMA) and thus discovered the sea route to India, penetrated into the east coast, finding out the possibilities of systematic trading with the Arab colonies of the coast and other countries of the inland regions.

3. By the end of the century they penetrated as far as Ethiopia (COVILHAM).

4. In 1470—71 they discovered and seized the islands of the Gulf of Guinea (São Tomé, Príncipe, Annobón and Fernando Po).

All these achievements paved the way for the transition to an over-all invasion of Africa, chiefly for the purpose of the slave trade. This transition took place at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries and ushered in a new epoch of the history of Africa.

The Question of "Priority" in the Discovery of Africa

The Portuguese were the first among the European nations to engage in the geographical discovery and exploration of Africa. Attempts were several times made, especially on the part of the French and Italians, to challenge this priority.

The French claim that adventurous Norman navigators, starting from Dieppe, already in the 14th century, i.e. a hundred years in advance of the Portuguese, sailed past the coasts of West Africa as far as the Gold Coast, that they established settlements on the Senegal River, built several fortresses ("Little Paris", "Little Dieppe") on the Liberian coast and set up three trading stations on the Gold Coast (Elmina, Accra and Cormantyne). They allege that these French colonies existed for forty odd years and were then abandoned because the war situation in France distracted attention from overseas conquests.

The Italians claim the Genoese vessels already in the 14th century visited the littoral of West Africa as far as the Gulf of Guinea. Such assertions are not confirmed by any direct documentary evidence, however spurious it may be. Their only argument is that the first map showing the African continent with more or less accurately drawn outlines of its western, southern and northeastern extremities was made in Genoa as early as 1351 (the famous "Portulano" atlas which is conserved in the Biblioteca Laurenziana at Florence). Such a map, however, might have been — and probably was — made by the Genoese without any exploration on their side, on the basis of data furnished by Arab sources, just as the famous geographical books were written in ancient Rome.

On the basis of extant documents it is impossible to find out with any certainty whether Norman colonies in reality existed in the 14th century or they have been invented later by French patriots, supporters of colonization (such as the Dominican friar LABAT who in 1728 published a five-volume work on the history of French colonies in Senegal) to defend the right of France to her African colonies established in the 17th century. But even if new documentary evidence were discovered to prove beyond doubt the truth of French colonies and Genoese explorations in the 14th century, this would not alter the fact that the glory of priority in the discovery and exploration of Africa is due to the Portuguese. The Norman colonists and Genoese voyagers, even if they existed in reality, made no contribution to the scientific knowledge European nations had of Africa. Their chance adventures, which benefited

neither mankind nor science, cannot in the least diminish the historic significance of the Portuguese discoveries, any more than, say, the historic significance of COLUMBUS' achievement can be obscured or diminished by the fact that the wind by chance carried a few Normans to the Newfoundland coast 500 years before the discovery of America.

Characteristics of Portuguese Colonization in the 15th Century

The primary motive force of Portuguese exploration was the desire to discover new resources of gold and later of spices. Besides, the Portuguese set themselves the task of trailing a new, more convenient, sea route to India. But, with their advance along the western littoral, this latter task gradually became self-sufficient: the more they came near to the fulfilment of the second task, the more it eclipsed the first goal.

At the beginning Portuguese trade in Africa developed in the form of private undertakings, enjoying only moral support of the Portuguese State, but the further exploration of the littoral was considered a cause of national importance and was organized by the State itself. To safeguard their traffic in gold, the Portuguese traders (and later their companies) began to build fortified stations. The first such fort was built on the Arguin coast in 1461 (according to other sources as early as 1448), and the second on the Gold Coast in 1481—82, by GOMEZ' company under the name "São Jorge da Mina" (afterwards Elmina).

After the appearance of GOMEZ' company (1469) the traffic in gold was followed by the slave trade. The first special expedition in search of the "living merchandise" was conducted by agents of GOMEZ' in 1470. It carried 200 slaves to Portugal. After this, slave-raiding expeditions became more or less systematic, but until the end of the 15th century this new commercial branch did not grow to any considerable proportions.

Just as monopolistic rights to trade on the littoral were granted to GOMEZ, the king of Portugal gave certain members of the Portuguese nobility "concessions" for several of the islands discovered in the Gulf of Guinea in 1470—71 (for São Tomé Island already in 1485, Príncipe Island in 1500 and Annobón in 1503). These "concessionnaires", enjoying exclusive rights to the exploitation of the islands, were also granted the right of public administration. The exploitation of the islands consisted mainly in the extension of the sugar cane plantations. Yet the Portuguese could not take full possession of the island of Fernando Po, where they found strong indigenous tribes. There they contented themselves with setting up a trading station.

To study the history of Arab penetration into Africa in the Middle Ages and the first stage of Portuguese intrusion is very important also in order to understand the subsequent history of Africa, because the Arabs and the Portuguese continued to play a prominent role in this history even in the subsequent centuries. But, from the point of view of the history of the African peoples themselves, it has almost nothing to tell us. Arab and Portuguese business in Africa in this early epoch either did not concern the domestic life of the peoples of Africa or was so superficial and desultory that it could not have any essential effect upon the trend of development of the African peoples.

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PART TWO

BLACK AFRICA IN THE AGE OF PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION

(The Epoch of the Slave Trade—16th to 18th Centuries)

INTRODUCTION

Origin of the Slave Trade

As has been mentioned above, the Portuguese already in the 15th century began, though on a small scale, to traffic in slaves, capturing African aborigines and carrying them to Portugal. Vast horizons opened for the slave trade in the wake of the discoveries and territorial seizures along the entire coast of Africa, when the Portuguese built first a series of posts, provision depots and trading stations, and later military forts. The discovery of America and the establishment of European plantations there increased the demand for the "living merchandise". The traffic in slaves changed from an accessory occupation of gold and spice traders, adventurers and pirates, into a primary incentive of the entire African colonial activity first of Portugal and then of a number of other European powers. Thus the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries meant to Africa the transition from the "age of the great discoveries" into the age of the greatest ever abuse of man by man, into those three centuries during which agents of the wealthy classes of the most developed, most "civilized" and "enlightened" nations of mankind pursued a vast hunt for their backward and defenceless "black-skinned" fellow beings, exterminating hundreds of thousands of people who resisted, or who could not bear to be transported or put to hard labour on plantations, and transforming millions of "black people" into beasts of draught.

The Slave Trade as an Essential Factor in the History of Black Africa in the 16th to 18th Centuries

The slave trade became an essential and decisive factor in the entire history of Africa and of its inhabitants right from the beginning of the 16th century, and so it remained throughout the whole age of primitive accumulation. This is true not only of those African peoples who during that period came into direct contact with the European slave merchants as active or passive participants of the slave trade. It is true also of the peoples whose countries, although visited by the Europeans, for some reason or other remained untouched by the slave-raiding expeditions of European merchants and their African agents (*e.g.*, the peoples of South Africa), and it is true even of those peoples of the interior of the continent who never until the end of the 18th century had seen a single white man. To say nothing of those whose sons and daughters fell into slavery as a result of the activities of African and Arab slave dealers, even those few peoples who were spared (with the exception of some of the most backward peoples of the equatorial forests) had to experience the fatal conse-

Three Phases of the Slave Trade in Africa

1. The first is the piratic slave trade. Individual European merchants, adventurers, navigators or common sea robbers engaged in the hunting for black-skins on their own account, at their own expense and risk (at random or systematically), while the official government organs of their European mother countries had nothing to do with their business or lent them tacit, passive support. This is how the slave trade began in the 15th century, and this is how it continued on the whole throughout the first stage of its prosperity, that is, until the eighties of the 16th century.

The volume of trade (that is, the number of the Africans captured and exported) rose to fantastic heights. The British colonies of the West Indies alone imported 2,130,000 Africans from 1680 to 1786. The island of Jamaica alone absorbed as much as 610,000 slaves from 1700 to 1786.¹

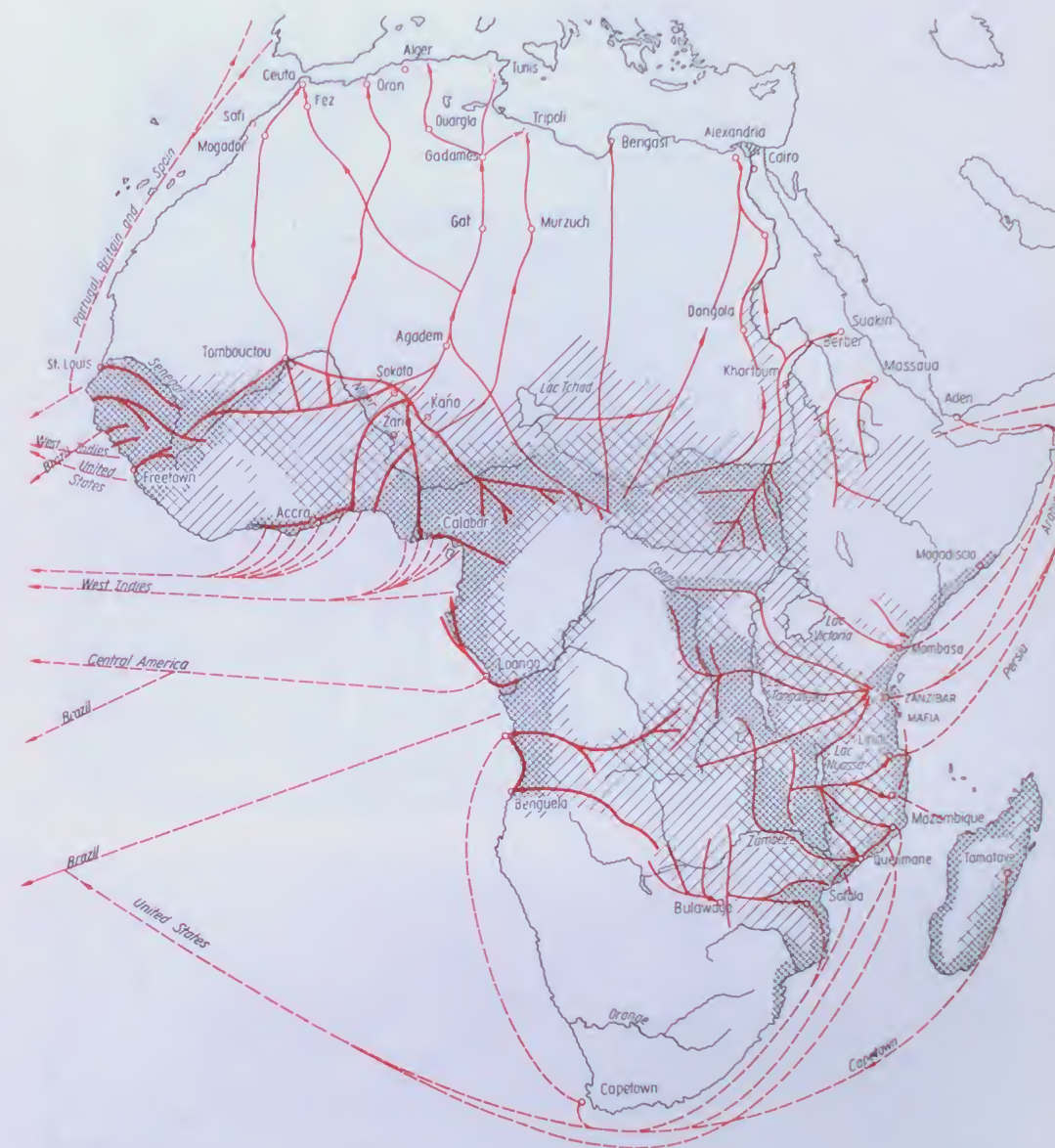
One of the reasons for the extraordinarily high numbers of exported Africans was that, owing to the mass transactions of these companies, the conditions of the transportation of slaves from Africa onto the American market had considerably worsened in comparison with "the good old times" of piracy. For the same reason no more than half their number really arrived in the West Indies.³

3. In the 17th century the slave trade was carried on almost exclusively by African companies. But England already in 1689 instituted "free trade" for all subjects of her empire, the result being that in the first half of the 18th century the power of the companies began to decline. The companies continued to exist, or more exactly, some wound up and others were formed. They still enjoyed great privileges in slave trade. But this did not hinder the unfolding of a fierce rivalry between companies and

¹ See J. K. INGRAM, *A History of Slavery and Serfdom* (London, 1895).

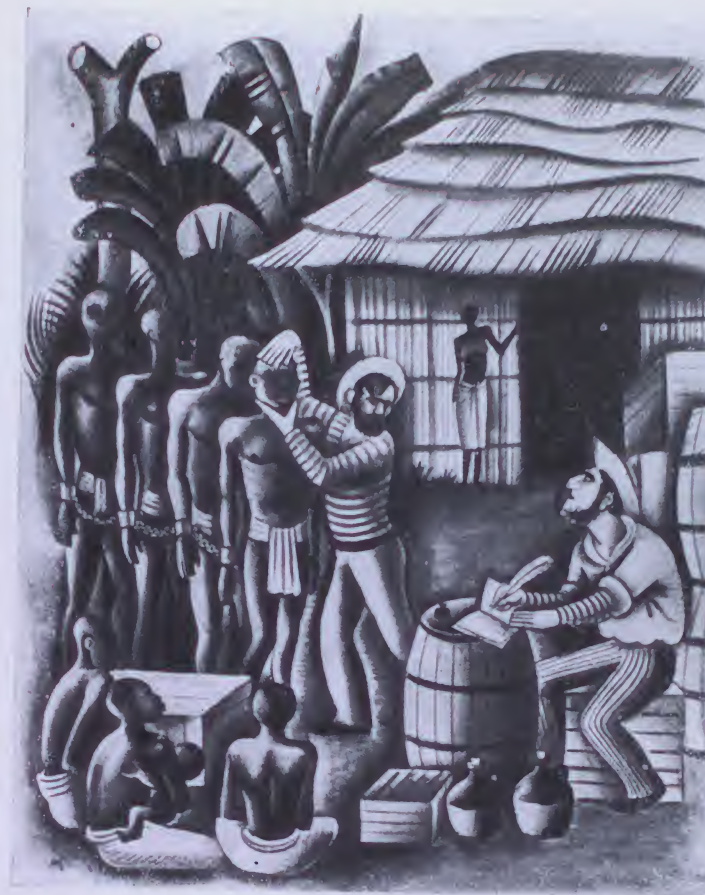
² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*



(The hachures indicate the intensiveness of the slave trade)

18-21.
Horrors of the slave trade
 (see p. 113)



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individual traders. What they competed for were not the markets (America gladly accepted every shipment) but the sources of the "living merchandise", so the battle was fought on the coasts of Africa. While the volume of the "Negro export" increased year by year, the situation of the Africans captured by the slave traders did not change substantially.

The decline of the slave trade first became manifest in the second half of the 18th century. With the formation of industrial capitalism in Great Britain and in the northern States of America, the idea of doing away with the slave trade and slavery as a whole began to mature. The famous decision in the Somerset case (on emancipation of every slave landing in England) and the first motion in the British Parliament for the prohibition of the slave trade (1776) laid the foundations for the *abolitionist movement*. Great Britain contemplated establishing a settlement in Africa for the liberated slaves (Sierra Leone). The unproductivity of slave labour, which hindered the capitalistic development in America, prompted several States to adopt legislative measures to prohibit the import of slaves or even to abolish slavery (Vermont in 1777; Virginia in 1782; followed later by Maryland, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Hampshire). The consequences of this noticeable change for the abolishment of the slave trade, however, were not visible in practice until the end of the third historical period (1789).

The French Revolution and the rapid growth of capitalism in America gave the abolitionist movement a new powerful impulse, but the introduction of the cotton gin in the southern States of America again made the African slave trade thrive and delayed its manifest decline for a while.

Horrors of the Slave Trade

The unfortunate victims of the slave trade went through many stages of torture. First, they were captured like wild beasts. Only those were spared the horrors of capturing who were sold into slavery by another tribe which had captured them in war, or by the chiefs of their own tribes. Then they had to undergo the tortures of the journey from the interior to the coast. Then followed the stage of "waiting for the customer" at a collecting station of the agent, or waiting for the arrival of the slave-trading ships at the factory of a European slave dealer. They had to wait for several weeks, sometimes even for months on end. The most horrible was the next stage — the passage aboard the slave-trading vessel to their destination (America, Jamaica, etc.). After arrival, as a rule, they had to wait for the day of market, then for their being sold, which in many cases meant separation of mother and child, husband and wife, etc. Finally, upon arriving at the plantation or the homestead of their "proprietor" the unfortunate slaves started the hopeless life of the beasts of draught — back-breaking labour, eternal hunger, humiliation, endless fear of the morrow, etc.

HARRY JOHNSTON, one of the "enlightened" British colonizers and colonial historians, describing the initial stage of this road of horrors, wrote among other things:

"... a slave gang on its march to the coast was loaded with unnecessarily heavy collars or slave-sticks, with chains and irons that chafed and cut into the flesh, and caused virulent ulcers. The slaves were half starved, over-driven, insufficiently provided with drinking water, and recklessly exposed to death from sunstroke. If they threw themselves down for a brief rest or collapsed from exhaustion they were shot or speared or had their throats cut with fiendish brutality... Children whom their

mothers could not carry, and who could not keep up with the caravan, had their brains dashed out. Many slaves... committed suicide because they could not bear to be separated from their homes and children. They were branded and flogged, and, needless to say, received not the slightest medical treatment for the injuries resulting from this usage.

"So much for the overland journey which brought them to the *dépôt* or factory of the European slave trader on the coast; then began the horrors of the sea passage, the description of which, it must be admitted, refers almost entirely to the ships of civilized nations, like the English, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, and American and not to the Arabs or Indians, who carried slaves across from the East coast of Africa to Arabia or India. In the latter case the sailing vessels were not often overcrowded, and the slaves were allowed a fair degree of liberty".¹

JOHNSTON's description is the more illustrative because it concerns a later period, when the slave trade was already on the decline as a consequence of the anti-slavery movements in Great Britain and other capitalist countries. At the sight of this picture of the 19th-century slave trade it is easy to form an idea of what it must have been like two or three hundred years earlier, when the slave traders were absolutely free in their proceedings and were not persecuted.

Detailed descriptions of these initial stages — the capture of slaves and their journey to the coast — are found in works of many travellers, such as MUNGO PARK, LIVINGSTONE, BAKER and others. Of the further fate of Africans in enslavement, of their life on plantations in America, etc., clear pictures are drawn in the classic works of BEECHER STOWE.²

Characteristic Features of European Colonization

Characteristic of this period of African history is the fact that for three centuries the European invaders of Africa did not set themselves the task of organizing production by exploiting the labour of African masses on the spot. They were concerned only with accumulation, looting and the export of products and manpower. During three centuries the almost exclusive "economic" concern of European (and American) capitalists in Africa was trafficking, and especially trading in slaves. The exploitation of the Africans carried into slavery took place, not in Africa, but on colonial plantations on other continents, mainly in North, Central and South America. The only exception to this rule was that part of South Africa (the coast region at the Cape of Good Hope) where the Dutch East India Company had, already in the second half of the 17th century, displayed some economic activity by introducing European farming methods.

The "African trade" in the 16th to 18th centuries was characterized by direct or indirect robbery. European traders and their agents took possession of the enormous riches of the newly discovered countries either through undisguised brigandage or through "barter". The latter consisted in compelling the Africans to hand over their products in exchange for worthless rubbish (like glass beads, buttons, etc.) or for spirits which the Africans were taught to indulge in.

With the exception of South Africa, the seizure of African territories by European powers in the period under discussion was almost completely unaccompanied by

¹ See JOHNSTON, *op. cit.*, pp. 155—156.

² Besides her commonly known book, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, it is worth while reading another, not less valuable and elaborate, novel of hers, *Dred*.

European colonization. In the conquered territories there appeared the military and the fortune-seekers, and along with them or in their wake went merchants and missionaries. But virtually there existed not one European colonist who would have gone to Africa to settle down permanently. There were attempts at colonization by the Portuguese both in Angola and in Mozambique, but without success.

The European colonizers in this period made only feeble efforts to expand their possessions into the depths of the African continent. They endeavoured only to establish themselves strongly on the coast to organize from there, through their white and black agents, the plundering of the African masses in the interior regions adjoining the given coast sector, to procure for resale the largest possible quantity of gold, ivory, spices and slaves. Until the end of the 18th century, as far as territorial seizures are concerned, they had not gone beyond occupying some small strips of the coast lands with a view to setting up their factories, provision depots and military bases. (As we are going to see, an exception also in this respect was South Africa.)

This accounts for the extremely poor work of exploration done in the interior areas of the continent in this period. Travels into the inland countries of Africa seldom occurred until the end of the 18th century, and were but random excursions undertaken by adventurers or merchants in search of new goldfields and new sources of the "living merchandise".

Relations between the Intruders and the Africans

When during the seizure of the coast lands the first invaders met with Africans, they either killed them, or captured and sold them into slavery or else drove them far inland. Sometimes they tried to disguise their conquests by concluding "peace treaties" with tribal chiefs, offering them valueless gifts or by acting upon the Africans with the help of missionaries.

A typical example of how the early European conquerors tried by "peace treaties" to take possession of African territories is the case of the "purchase" of Cape Colony by the Dutch East India Company. By virtue of two contracts concluded with African chieftains the Company actually bought Cape Colony for £9 12s 9d — not in currency, but in goods.

The Boer historian, SIDWELL, relates¹ that in 1672 a high official of the Company, VAN OVERBECK, calling at the Cape on his way back to Holland, made a bargain with a "Hottentot" chief of the Cape Peninsula. By this "peace treaty" the entire Cape region, including Table, Saldanha and Hout Bays, went into the hands of the Company for a sum equal to about £800 in present-day currency. But the "barbarian", who had not the slightest idea of what that money was worth, was very satisfied with what the Company's storehouse let him have in goods worth less than £3. A few days later a similar deal was made with another tribe to the effect that the Europeans received "Hottentots-Holland" and False Bay at the nominal price of £800. In this case the actual price was less than £7 in goods.

It is easy to understand that such "just" prices could not achieve great and lasting success for the "peaceful policy" of the Europeans even among the most "ignorant barbarians". No wonder if, in that very year, 1672, in that very Cape Colony, despite the goods paid to the "Hottentot" chiefs in the value of £9, the same "Hottentots"

¹ See H. B. SIDWELL, *The Story of South Africa* (Capetown, 1899), pp. 19—20; and E. A. WALKER, *A History of South Africa* (London, 1928), p. 48.

killed eight Europeans near Riebeeck's Castle and four officials of the Company at Saldanha Bay. This resulted in the outbreak of a war which lasted full five years.¹

The plundering of the population and the frauds practised by the Europeans for three centuries awakened in the popular masses of Africa a feeling of profound hatred for the foreign aggressors, sowed in them strong seeds of a rebellious revolutionary spirit, of persistent endeavours to break every contact with the alien colonizers. This took concrete shape in heroic defensive wars and various elemental outbursts of protest and resistance.

Internece Warfare of the Conquerors

During the three hundred years of the slave trade the capitalist robbers had endless conflicts and skirmishes with one another around the spoil. As already stated, the struggle in those times was not waged for markets. Slaves, gold and ivory always found customers. Although there were vast territories which none of the European usurpers had conquered yet and there was no aspiration for expansion into the interior of the continent, conflicts and skirmishes were the order of the day. The battles were fought for the sources of the "African merchandise" and for the merchandise itself. African traders needed slaves, gold, ivory, and bases from where to set out to procure them. In quest of quick and big fortunes, they would not undertake prolonged and risky expeditions or the building of trading stations and forts, but preferred to rob others of the merchandise or to capture the stations and forts of their rivals. After the Portuguese came the English, after them the Dutch, followed by the Danes and Swedes, later the French — and they all began to take and re-take one another's forts and factories and depots, to capture one another's vessels loaded with cargoes of slaves or other merchandise, etc.²

On the Eve of a New Epoch

The results of the industrial revolution accomplished in great Britain and ripening in a number of other countries (America, France) began to make themselves felt in the African colonies in the 18th century, particularly in its second half. There appeared the first signs of a change in the European powers' colonial policies and activities in Africa. The complete change occurred only in the subsequent period, after the Great French Revolution.

The rising capitalist bourgeoisie began showing interest in Africa, which they looked upon not only as a resource of gold and a store of the human merchandise, but also as a resource of industrial raw materials and foodstuffs and as a potential market for manufactured goods. In some of the colonial possessions the European powers already endeavoured to introduce European colonization, after the model of South Africa, in order to establish colonial farms and plantations (the British in Sierra Leone, the Portuguese in Moçambique).

The first serious steps towards colonial expansion, towards new conquests, had been taken. European powers and trading companies ever more often concluded with trib-

¹ See SIDWELL, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

² As for the main features of the internece warfare between Europeans in this period, see the relevant passage in the Introduction (pp. 26—27).

al chiefs "peace" treaties and agreements on territorial concessions. Slow but systematic expansion into the inland countries of Africa began. The transition from random adventurous travels to the systematic exploration of the interior regions became noticeable.

The approach of new times was visible, as already mentioned, also in the slave trade.

All these changes, and especially the increasing aspirations for expansion and new conquests, resulted in the intensification of struggles between European powers. The occasional skirmishes of individual merchants and adventurers, the fights for one or another's ship and its valuable cargo gave way to a systematic power struggle for the colonial territories.

This change was provoked by the appearance and aspirations of the rising industrial bourgeoisie of the most advanced countries of Europe — Great Britain and France. It is but natural that the leading role in this struggle was gradually taken over by these two powers, which relegated to the background the colonial powers that in the preceding centuries played the leading role in the African commerce — Portugal, Spain, Holland.

Characteristic examples of this intensifying struggle aimed at new conquests and the ousting of the rivals were: the clash between British and Spaniards at Fernando Po (1779), the Anglo-Dutch war on the Gold Coast (1781—83), the Franco-Portuguese collision in Cabinda (1784), the struggle of Great Britain and France around Dutch Cape Colony, with its subsequent seizures — first (1781) temporarily by France, and then (1795) finally by Great Britain.

Beside armed struggles to preserve the existing colonies began also the power rivalry in the exploration of new territories (travels of the French LEVAILLANT in South Africa, DEGRANDPRÉ in Equatorial and South Africa, of the British PATTERSON in South Africa, BRUCE in Ethiopia, etc.)

General Features of the Development of African Peoples in the 16th to 18th Centuries

The end of the 18th century marks the end of a historical epoch — the age of the primitive accumulation of capital, which was for Black Africa the epoch of the slave-trade. The African slave trade signified, in the words of MARX, those "idyllic proceedings" which were "the chief momenta of primitive accumulation".¹ European and American capitalists, British, French, Portuguese, Dutch and other slave traders and slave-holding farmers of American countries accumulated immense riches by plundering the African peoples, capturing and exploiting as slaves millions of Africans. The stolen resources of Africa, the sweat and blood of its sons and daughters were one of the main sources of the primitive accumulation of capital. But the African colonies in this period played no part as suppliers of food products and industrial raw material. They supplied nothing but luxury articles (ivory, spices) and means of enrichment (gold, slaves).

During the three hundred years of this epoch the European plunderers succeeded in taking possession of almost the entire west, south and southeast coast of Africa. But nowhere, except the southernmost tip of the continent, did they penetrate into the interior regions. They not only did not get a foothold in those areas, but until the end of this period they remained in complete ignorance of the natural resources

¹ K. MARX, *Capital*, vol. i, ch. xxiv, 6.

and the populations of those territories. The dawning age of industrial capitalism found the whole of Black Africa, with the exception of its coast regions, an "unknown land". The task of its discovery, exploration and subjection to capital was incumbent upon the rising new class — the industrial bourgeoisie.

During the three hundred years of the hunt for profit, gold and slaves the European plunderers fought a bitter competition with one another. By the close of this period, at the beginning of a new epoch, as a consequence of the ripening new aspirations of world capital, this struggle went on intensifying. The guiding role in this ever intensifying struggle for the African colonies was little by little taken over by the two biggest, economically most developed powers in Europe — Great Britain and France. The lesser colonial powers gradually took the second place.

What the slave trade brought to the African peoples was: to some — extermination; to others — expulsion from their territories; again to others — loss of their sons and daughters; and to the rest of them — destruction of their economies, retardation of the development of productive forces. True, the encounter with the Europeans led to an increase in the extraction (or gathering production) of such goods as the capitalist spoilers mostly needed (gold, ivory, spices). But the development of these branches of production in the service of the "African trade" and the simultaneous development of the slave trade brought to the toiling masses of the African peoples neither economic progress nor better living. The drain of masses of manpower and the direct or indirect compulsion to produce goods required by foreign traders largely prevented the labouring masses of Africa from producing what they themselves needed.

In certain African areas whose chiefs participated in the slave traffic as agents of the European slave dealers, the slave trade accelerated the rise of new classes. At the same time the necessity of permanent self-defence contributed to the consolidation of tribal federations and of their military organization.

The three hundred years of continuous suffering and incessant defensive wars of the coast tribes of Black Africa against the alien usurpers developed in the Africans a fighting spirit and certain practical experience in warfare. Parallel to the growing aggressive aspirations of the Europeans by the close of this period went the growing indignation of the African peoples, their hatred for the usurpers and the intensification of their armed resistance.

In the course of three and a half centuries the African peoples encountered the "whites" only as the most abominable spoilers, kidnappers, and plunderers of the product of their labour. During all this time the toilers of the overwhelming majority of the African peoples never saw a single "white" man who, like they, lived by his own labour. With the exception of an insignificant stratum of the rising class of exploiters of certain African societies, no one from among the African "black" peoples ever experienced on the part of the "white" newcomers anything else than killing, beating, misery and compulsion to hard labour. Owing to the economic and cultural backwardness of those peoples, to their ignorance of the real meaning and significance of the happenings and the resulting situation, their aspirations for liberation from alien oppression went along racial channels: they became more and more hostile towards, and full of hatred for, *everything white*. They began to see the cause of all their troubles, misery and suffering in the "white man" who presented himself to them as an inveterate enemy of the "black man". No small part in the development of this racial bias of the African peoples was played by the circumstance that the "white" newcomers and oppressors treated the subjugated or captured "black" men as inferior beings who were "born for slavery".

All the heroic attempts of the African peoples to resist the capitalist conquerors, all their defensive wars and insurrections in this early period took place under the cover and slogan of the "struggle against the whites". This ideology took deep roots in the minds of the African masses and had a great influence upon the subsequent development of mass movements in Africa in later periods of their history. Afterwards, in the epoch of the rising national and class movements, this ideology often acted as a harmful brake on these movements. But in the early stages of the awakening of the African peoples this racial ideology was only an erroneous expression (reactionary in form) of their just progressive aspirations, of their desire for freedom and independence. As such, however, it was an important impetus to the national liberation movements.

Therefore, despite their racial ideology and slogans, all the "anti-European" wars and movements of the African peoples in that period (and in the 19th century), unfit though their methods of warfare were, played a positive role. Being directed against the fetters of a free economic and political development of the African peoples, those wars and movements themselves prepared and trained the popular masses of Africa for the national liberation and class struggles to come.

Below we shall deal briefly with the history of the most important regions of European intrusion in the 16th to 18th centuries (1. the west coast; 2. Angola and the Congo; 3. the east coast; 4. Ethiopia; 5. the south African coast; 6. Madagascar). The history of regions unaffected by the European intrusion yet known from more or less reliable sources, such as the Western and Central Sudan countries and the countries of upper Guinea between the coast and the Western Sudan (Ashanti, Dahomey), will be discussed together with the west coast in the chapter on West Africa.

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WEST AFRICA

THE PEOPLES OF WEST AFRICA IN THE 16TH TO 18TH CENTURIES

When the European intrusion began, the peoples of West Africa (the Sudanese peoples) lived in three large geographical groups:

1. the tribes on the ocean coast;
2. the tribes settled in the territories between the coastal regions and the inland countries;
3. the Western and Central Sudan tribes and peoples scattered in a multitude of large and small primitive States.

The destinies of these three groups in the slave trade period followed different roads. In this early period of European penetration the geographical distribution of the various West African peoples was of a decisive consequence, because it largely determined also their strategic position in face of the European aggressors. Owing to the vast dimensions of West African territories and to their being completely unexplored by the Europeans, and considering the adverse climatic conditions and the scarcity of means of transportation available both to the Europeans and, even more, to the West African peoples — an essential factor in the development of each country, people or tribe throughout the 16th to 18th centuries was its distance from the coast.

The Coastal Tribes

The small dispersed coastal tribes, of course, could not offer serious resistance to the European newcomers who possessed firearms. Some of them tried to resist, but they were smashed. Others, unaware of the significance of the European intrusion, let the intruders into the coastal regions without resistance. This was greatly facilitated by the European "gifts" presented to the chiefs, and by the bartering trade. By bribing the chiefs or overpowering the tribes of the coastal regions where the European colonizers had established themselves, these attained that the coast tribes soon began to submit to their influence and accept their new order. And since the essence of the new order was slave trade, the majority of the tribal chiefs of the coast gradually became agents of the European slave dealers by supplying them with living merchandise from the inland areas.

Such active helpers of the European slave merchants were the *Sarakole*¹ chieftains and their tribes in Senegambia, the *Fanti* on the Gold Coast, the *Bini* in Benin,

¹ For the active participation of the *Sarakole* in the slave traffic at the end of the 17th century, see, for instance, BRUE-LABAT, *op. cit.* (on p. 107), p. 320.

etc.¹ This slave-trading activity of the African tribes in most cases was of a piratic nature. But in certain African tribes it helped develop trade in general, and in some cases the increasing commerce led to the prosperity of the trades. The *Sarakole* themselves, for example, besides trading in slaves, had from the earliest times organized trading expeditions to other tribes (this is why the Europeans called them the "Jews of the Sudan"). The *Yoruba* tribes (on the Slave Coast) already in this period possessed developed manufactories for weaving and dyeing textiles; the canvas woven by them was in great demand among Portuguese merchants who exported it to Brazil.

Special attention should be paid to the attitude taken towards slavery and the traffic in slaves by the *Kru* tribe living on the coast of today's Liberia. They obstinately resisted the slave hunters; and a *Kru*, when captured, frequently committed suicide lest he should become a slave. They held and bought slaves themselves, but did not resell them, and their slaves were fairly treated.

The European influence was reflected also by the mutual relations of the coastal tribes themselves. While formerly they lived in almost complete isolation from one another, there being only occasional minor skirmishes because of disputed lands, hunting grounds, fisheries, etc., now there arose a new motive inducing them to make war for taking prisoners to sell them as slaves to the Europeans. The northern portion of the upper Guinea coast (the territories of the present-day Republic of Guinea and Portuguese Guinea), whose populations show a motley conglomerate of a great many different tribes, was the theatre of almost uninterrupted internecine wars among Africans whose overt or unadmitted goal was to capture slaves. And although the European (British, French, Portuguese) witnesses of these wars, who possessed firearms, could without difficulty and risk have prevented these fratricide wars among Africans, they did not do so; on the contrary, they instigated such wars, which provided their slave-trading factories with the living merchandise. Thus it was that, under the influence of the "civilized" Europeans, many of the tribes of this coast (the *Papel*, *Balante*, *Nalu*, *Biafar*, etc.), who had so far been peaceable agricultural workers, hunters and fishermen, started to engage in banditry — as a "subsidiary occupation". Some of them, judging that it was easier to lead the free life of brigands than to work, totally gave up their former occupations and began to procure their means of subsistence by organizing piratic expeditions against other tribes. For example, the *Bissago* tribe, living on Bissagos Islands and in the coast regions in the vicinity of these islands, became a tribe of sea robbers. They built long pirogues adorned in front with a monster's head with a red-painted open mouth, and launched raids upon the coast lands. They used arrows with heads made of poisoned fishbones. From the Europeans they soon learned the use of sails and already in the 18th century employed swords one metre in length which bore the trade marks of Solingen factories.

Tribes of the Intermediate Regions

The tribes living between the upper Guinea coast and the Western Sudan had no direct contacts with Europeans until the end of the 18th century. But through the mediation of the coastal tribes, part of which were tributary to them, they carried

¹ For the complicity of the *Fanti* and their participation in the Anglo-Dutch intrigues in Cormantyne in the 17th century, see VILLAUD DE BELLEFOND, *op. cit.* (on p. 107), p. 120 ff. The first information of Benin's participation in the slave trade of the Europeans is given in WINDHAM's account of his second travel into Guinea, quoted with certain comments in EDEN and WILLES, *History of Travels in the West and East Indies etc.* (London, 1577).

on some commerce with the Europeans, mainly by participating in the slave trade. And since they had more possibilities than the coastal tribes to go slave-raiding into the inland countries, slavery and the slave trade became more developed among them than on the coast.

Such a tribe was, for instance, that of the *Gallina*, an inland tribe of Sierra Leone, which from olden times had been considered one of the most warlike tribes. Not only did it constantly war against its neighbours to capture prisoners, but for the same purpose it gladly assisted other tribes in their wars. In the event of a war conflict the coastal tribes had the custom to send messengers with gifts to the *Gallina* chief "to buy war", that is, to invite the *Gallina* into alliance. European slave dealers also made use of the services of the *Gallina* in slave-raiding expeditions. In the long wars the *Gallina* developed their own tactics and learned to build fortifications.

The most important among these intermediate tribes (especially in the 18th century) were the *Ashanti* and the *Fon* (Dahomi), who had strong slave-holding States of their own.¹

The Peoples of the Western and Central Sudan

Until the 19th century the vast territory of the Sudan was for the Europeans an immense white spot on the map. Of the large and small State formations that existed in this territory, and of the peoples inhabiting these countries, Europe had utterly hazy ideas. During the age of primitive accumulation and the slave trade, rapacious European capital greedy of alien property (particularly of the wealth of weaker, backward peoples) was withheld from making contacts with these peoples by the geographical situation of these countries, the immense deserts on the north, the huge forests on the south and the fairly great distance from the sea coast, where the European invasion had already begun. The history of the Sudanese peoples, their countries and States before the end of the 18th century had no points of contact with the history of European nations, their colonizing adventures and undertakings.²

THE REGIONS OF EUROPEAN INTRUSION

(Upper Guinea Coast)

Significance of the West African Coast in the Slave Trade Period

In the slave trade period the region most typical of European colonization and the theatre of the Europeans' fiercest internecine struggles was the West African (upper Guinea) coast. This is accounted for chiefly by three circumstances: 1. The west coast was the nearest and therefore the most easily accessible to the African

¹ See pp. 133—135.

² See pp. 130—133.

slave trade. 2. The countries of the upper Guinea coast were rich suppliers of the African trade (gold, ivory, spices). 3. They were inhabited by scattered small tribes which still had no strong tribal alliances. The resistance of the small tribes was relatively easy for the Europeans to break down.

The West African coast was the main field of action of the big (chiefly British and French) African companies, from where most slaves left for America, and where the lion's share of African gold and other resources was secured. In studying the history of Africa in the age of primitive accumulation, therefore, we have to pay particular attention to this region.

This is necessary also because the West African coast is the only region of Africa to have been the theatre of large-scale internecine struggles between European powers already in that epoch. Scattered skirmishes and even more or less significant armed conflicts, as we are going to see below, took place from time to time in other regions, too. But only on the west coast was this warfare carried on almost without interruptions during the entire epoch. While in other regions the conflicts were something like casual clashes between two powers in some phase of the invasion, the struggle here from the 16th century on, and especially from the early 17th, took on a character of systematic rivalry in which all of the economically most developed European countries of that time participated.

At the same time West Africa was the only region to become the scene of the full development of the British and French slave trade and, consequently, of the unfolding of the colonial policies and rivalries of the two countries.

Finally, only a study of the history of this region can give a complete picture of the phenomena related to the decline of the slave trade and Britain's preparation for its abolition, in so far as until the latter part of the 18th century Great Britain had not yet played the leading role in any region of Africa other than the west coast. Particularly interesting in this respect is the history of the first attempts at colonization in Sierra Leone.

In the age of primitive accumulation (i.e., up to the end of the 18th century) European powers fought mainly in four sectors:

1. in *Gambia*, where first the Anglo-Portuguese competition and later the Anglo-French rivalries took place;
2. in *Senegal*, where the struggle was fought chiefly between the French and the Dutch, and later with particular bitterness between the French and the British;
3. on the *Gold Coast*, where the struggle involved, in addition to the principal colonizing powers (Great Britain, France, Portugal, Holland), even such nations on the whole less active in the colonial field in that period as Germany, Denmark and Sweden; afterwards Britain and Holland remained the main rivals on the Gold Coast;
4. in *Sierra Leone*, where the British had to wage wars alternately with the Portuguese, the Dutch and the French.

We possess the largest amount of documents concerning the western littoral of Africa (of the most varied kinds at that) enabling us to examine thoroughly the conditions in the given period. This refers both to the primary sources (documents, memoirs and travel accounts of contemporaries) and to historical works. The highly intense activity of the European powers in this region produced a very great amount of documentary material. In line of the exploration of the African countries and peoples the most of what was done by Europeans in that period concerns just this part of Africa. In view of the great role it played in the development of capitalism in Europe and America, bourgeois historians have always paid this part of Africa keen attention.

During the first half of the 16th century the Portuguese continued to be the exclusive masters of "African trade" on the western littoral; their trading posts were multiplied, the slave trade assumed growing proportions, several new forts were built. But in this period the Portuguese concentrated mainly on other sectors of the African coast: on the Congo which opened up much better possibilities for their traffic in slaves, and on the east coast where at the time they were carrying on their campaigns of conquest.

The first rivals of the Portuguese appeared on the west coast around the middle of the 16th century. English merchants in pursuit of spices, gold and ivory visited these shores even in former times — on board Portuguese vessels. But, on account of the commercial competition, the relations between Portuguese and British by the middle of the 16th century had become strained, and the British began sending out expeditions of their own.

WINDHAM's expedition in 1553 visited Benin and the Gold Coast. After this the Gold Coast became a regular place of call for British trading expeditions. The same place was visited by the expedition of JOHN LOCKE in 1554 and by the first expedition (in quest of gold and ivory) of TOWERSON in 1555. The TOWERSON expedition already had a clash with the Portuguese. In 1556 TOWERSON conducted his second expedition to the Gold Coast, and then he had to fight regular battles with the Portuguese. In 1558 two British merchants, BYRD and NEWTON, again visited Benin.

The English adventurer HAWKINS made his first appearance on the west coast in 1562. With him began a new phase in the history of the African trade of the British.

From the English African traders of former times HAWKINS differed in two respects:

1. Before him, his fellow countrymen were anxious to avoid conflicting with the Portuguese and were content with defending themselves. HAWKINS himself started attacks upon the Portuguese.

2. Before HAWKINS, the African traders were out mainly for spices, gold and ivory, and only occasionally did they kidnap a few slaves. HAWKINS was engaged chiefly in the slave trade. Part of his "living merchandise" he procured by piratically attacking the vessels of Portuguese slave dealers and by plundering their cargoes, the rest of his booty, by kidnapping on the coast or, most rarely of all, by bartering.

Upon returning from his first successful plundering campaign with a cargo of slaves in 1562, he met with complete approval on the part of the sovereign of England, Queen ELIZABETH. On top of this, to encourage the slave-trading business "pleasing to God" (and profitable to the British wealthy), the Queen presented him with a well-equipped vessel for further slave-raiding expeditions. Characteristically enough, the ship was named *Jesus*.

HAWKINS conducted two more expeditions (in 1564 and 1567), and, following this, the piratic slave trade of British merchants and adventurers assumed huge proportions. The conflicts with the Portuguese, of course, continued.

The Origin of African Companies

To improve their chances in this struggle and their possibilities of developing slave trade (and also — in the second place — the traffic in gold and spices), the British merchants in the eighties of the 16th century began to form companies for African

trade. These companies strove to obtain and did obtain from the queen official recognition in order to secure government subsidies. The first two patents ("charters") were granted by Queen ELIZABETH in 1588 and 1592. The first company received an exclusive patent for trading with the African coast between the "Senaga" (Senegal) and Gambia Rivers, and the second, from the Gambia River to Sierra Leone.

After these companies had been established the African trade took on a more regular and organized character and increased in volume. A big expedition under REYNOLDS and DASSEL visited Senegal and Gambia as early as 1591. This gave rise to hostile actions on the part of the Portuguese and stimulated also other great commercial nations of Europe, first of all, the Dutch and the French. Following REYNOLDS and DASSEL, a big Dutch expedition under ERIKS MEDENBLIK visited the Gold Coast in 1595.

The first big company to receive the monopolistic right to the entire African trade ("the Company of Adventurers of London trading into Africa") was founded in London in 1618. This company began to build fortified stations on the African coast on a large scale to defend the British trade by arms. (The first British forts on the Gold Coast had been built in 1616, before the appearance of this company.) Upon this Holland and France also decided to take action. In 1621 the Dutch West India Company was granted the monopoly for trading with the west coast of Africa, and the French West Africa Company was founded in 1626.

The birth of these rivalling big companies of the three strongest commercial nations of those times marked the beginning of a fierce and obstinate, at times extremely embittered, struggle of European capital for the possession of the natural resources of Africa and for the fruits of the labour of African peoples. In two and a half centuries this struggle — on another, higher, stage of development of world capitalism — resulted in the imperialist conquest and partition of the whole African continent.

Gambia

The first agents of the British company who appeared on the Gambia River in 1619 (the THOMPSON expedition) were killed by the Portuguese. The company immediately sent out a strong expedition under JOBSON (1620—21) which, after coming to an agreement with several chiefs of local tribes, laid the foundations for a range of British trading settlements. The small British colony subsisted for sixty-odd years without being attacked by anyone.

In 1663 on an island of the Gambia River the British built a fort for the defence of their trade and named it "Fort James" after the lord high admiral of England. In 1695 Fort James was captured by the French. True, it was recaptured within a year, but the French built a factory of their own in its vicinity, at Albreda.

From that time on began the struggle of Britain and France for the Gambian coast, which, intermittently, lasted until 1783. For instance, in the short interval from 1697 to 1713, Fort James was twice taken and twice retaken by the British and the French, respectively.

By the Versailles peace of 1783 France, in exchange for her possessions in Senegal, definitely recognized Great Britain's trading rights on the Gambia River, while Britain consented that France again occupy her former factory at Albreda, which France did at last in 1787.

Senegal

The first to appear in Senegal were the Dutch (1617). They established settlements and forts one after another (Goree Island, Rufisque, Joal, etc.). In 1637 they took Fort Arguim from the Portuguese.

Following the Dutch, agents of the French company from 1626 on also started founding settlements and forts. In 1659 they had a factory of their own also in the place of today's St. Louis. In 1677, after long quarrels and minor strifes, the French captured by force the most important Dutch stations (Goree, Rufisque, Portudal, Joal, etc.), and in 1678 Holland officially ceded them to France.

Soon afterwards appeared on the Senegal coast a new, stronger rival of the French: in 1692 the British took from them Goree and St. Louis. The struggle began, and within a year both places were again in the hands of the French. Britain and France then continued the fighting almost uninterruptedly for 90 years (1692—1783).

In 1687 a great French colonizer made his appearance on the Senegal Coast: ANDRÉ BRUE, director of the French company. He attended the affairs of the colony from 1697 to 1723; he spent twelve out of the 26 years in the colony. BRUE was feverishly active in expanding and consolidating the colony. Partly personally, partly through his agents, he explored the adjacent countries (Bambuk, Cayor, Gallam, etc.), concluded contracts with the local chiefs who made him territorial concessions; he established a number of new settlements, factories and forts.

The Dutch in 1717 lost Portendik and in 1727 Arguin to France.

The Anglo-French struggle in Senegal became especially embittered during the Seven Years' War. In 1758 Goree and St. Louis were again seized by the British. By the Paris peace of 1763 Goree was returned to France, but the rest of her possessions in Senegal remained in the hands of Great Britain. Being thus deprived of St. Louis and of other territories, the French in 1765 acquired from the "king" of Cayor a new territory between St. Louis and present-day Dakar. They recaptured St. Louis in 1779.

The war was terminated by the Versailles peace of 1783. By this treaty France regained all of her possessions in Senegal as well as her former trading station at Albreda, in Gambia. France, for her part, definitely recognized Great Britain's rights to Gambia, and the British retained also the exclusive right to trade at Portendik for gum.

Soon after the treaty of Versailles France expanded her colonies by acquiring new territories, Cape Verde and Dakar, from local African chiefs.

Gold Coast

On the Gold Coast the British (who had built their first fortification, Cormantyne, as early as 1616) were immediately followed by the Dutch¹ (1624). The latter created sixteen forts in quick succession (Elmina, Nassau, etc.), partly by seizing the existing Portuguese forts. In strong competition with the British, they engaged largely

¹ As for the Dutch colonies on the Guinea coast, see: C. A. JEEKEL, *Onze bezittingen of de kust van Guinea* (Amsterdam, 1869); C. M. KAN, *Nederland en de kust van Guinea* (Utrecht, 1871); R. VAN DER AA, *Afrikaansche Studien* (the Hague, 1871); DE ROEVER, "Twe concurren-ten van de eerste westindische Compagnie" (in *Oud Holland*, vol. vii [1889]); H. MULLER, *De afstand der kust van Guinea aan England*.

in the slave trade. After them came also Swedes who, however, were soon displaced by the Danes (1657—60).

The long rivalry and enmity of the British and Dutch traders in 1664 resulted in the outbreak of an open war between their companies, that is, between the troops which defended them. The war lasted three years. This time the Dutch turned out to be stronger. They not only preserved their own possessions but seized part of those held by the British who could retain only one of their forts, Cape Coast Castle. After the "Royal African Company" had been founded in London (1672), it began to build new forts on the Gold Coast. One of them was built as far as Dahomey (Whydah).

Late in the 17th century (1682 and afterwards) a German colony was established by Brandenburg between Elmina and Axim. Several forts were erected, and attempts were made to expand trade, but the colony proved a failure and was sold to the Dutch company in 1717.¹

In the middle of the 18th century (1757) the French again attempted to capture the principal British fort, Cape Coast Castle, but with no success.

The rivalry between the British and the Dutch grew ever fiercer. In the eighties of the 18th century it led to a military conflict. The war went on for about two years (1781—83). Neither of the belligerents succeeded in knocking out its adversary. The Dutch seized Fort Elmina from the British, who in turn captured the Dutch stations at Kommenda and Accra, but on the whole both sides preserved their former positions.

Sierra Leone

After the discovery of Sierra Leone by the Portuguese PEDRO DE SINTRA (1461), its coast was from time to time a place of call for the Portuguese who were, first of all, slave traders, in search of the "living merchandise". From the early 16th century these visits became more frequent as the slave trade with America came to thrive. The Portuguese, however, at that time did not establish permanent settlements on this part of the coast.

The British appeared in Sierra Leone in the second half of the 16th century. The first to visit this country was, in 1562, the founder of the British slave trade, the adventurer HAWKINS, who, having organized the black hunt on the coast of Sierra Leone, transported from there a big cargo of slaves. After this British slave dealers became frequent visitors to Sierra Leone, like the Portuguese with whom they had many a clash on this account.

In the defence of its trade and of Portugal's monopolistic right to the slave trade, the Portuguese government started to send its warships to these coasts to keep away all foreign vessels. As a result, for many decades British slave merchants were able to step on the soil of Sierra Leone only on the rare occasions when they could escape the attention of their jealous and — owing to government support — stronger competitors. This is why for a long time they failed to begin establishing permanent factories and building fortifications.

¹ Concerning attempted German colonization on the Gold Coast, see: *Brandenburg-Preußen auf der Westküste von Afrika* ("Kriegsgeschichtliche Abteilung des Großen Generalstabs") (Berlin, 1885); SCHUCK, *Brandenburg-Preußens Kolonialpolitik unter dem Großen Kurfürsten und seinen Nachfolgern*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1889); H. DIEDERICH, *Herzog Jakobs von Kurland Kolonien an der Westküste Afrikas* (Miteu, 1890). See also the work of KOSCHITZKY, indicated on p. 466.

It was not before the creation and consolidation of the British African companies — that is, about the middle of the 17th century — that the British slave trade on the coast of Sierra Leone became more systematic. And the first British factory in Sierra Leone was established as late as 1660, that is, nearly a hundred years after HAWKINS' visit. The Portuguese had formerly created several small settlements which, however, were insignificant in size and were not fortified.

To begin with, a British factory was built on the small Tasso Island, in the mouth of the Sierra Leone River, but already in 1664 it was looted and destroyed by the Dutch. Then the British built one up on Rodi Island. This second fort was destroyed by the Africans. The third time the British erected their fort on Benz Island. In 1704 this was captured and plundered by the French (who seized there 7,000 tusks of elephants). In 1720 the fort was for the second time plundered by a gang of British pirates (ROBERTS).

In 1728 the "Royal African Company" renounced this colony and gave it to private traders. In this form it existed until 1787 when it was acquired by the "St. George Bay's Company". This company had been formed by British philanthropists (WILBERFORCE, SHARP, etc.) with the task of having the emancipated American Negroes resettled as free colonists in Africa. In the same year the first colonists arrived in Sierra Leone: 400 ex-slaves and 60 London prostitutes recruited by the company to "marry" the new settlers. A few years after their arrival, however, nearly all these immigrants died of tropical diseases.

But the philanthropists were not disheartened. The British Parliament passed a decision to form the "Sierra Leone Company" to continue the experiment on a larger scale and with government aid.

THE REGIONS UNAFFECTED BY EUROPEAN INTRUSION

A) THE SUDAN COUNTRIES

The Western Sudan

In the course of the entire 16th century the Western Sudan was under the rule of Sonrhāi, which as a result of the conquests by SUNNI-ALI had become a flourishing and powerful State by the end of the 15th century. The great States of Ghana and Melle became its vassals, while all the other, minor and small, States of the Western Sudan peoples were in some degree dependent on it.

On the other hand, the decline of Melle started a process of expansion of the *Man-dingo* tribes all over the Western Sudan, some of them moving westward (into Senegambia) and others southward (into the regions between the upper Guinea coast and the inland areas of the Western Sudan). While moving on, they clashed with other tribes whose land they occupied. In the face of their advance, a number of tribes — the once powerful *Susu* among them — were obliged to change their places of residence and go farther west or south. This often caused minor strifes among the tribes and even major internecine wars. The many wars gave rise to the institution of slavery in certain tribes. Some of the tribes — as a matter of fact, mainly those which lived relatively near the coast — became participants of the slave trade, engaging in the slave hunt. This, in turn, resulted in new wars, in the form of slave-raiding campaigns. For example, the above-mentioned *Susu* not only held slaves themselves, but took an active part in the slave traffic and organized slave-hunting expeditions.

The might of Sonrhāi did not last long. Late in the 16th century, in consequence of a prolonged war with Morocco, it fell under the yoke of the Moroccan sultan and became a province of Morocco. The Western Sudan States dependent on Sonrhāi now became tributary to Morocco.

The following two centuries were the epoch of incessant liberation struggles of the Western Sudan peoples against the Moroccan oppressors. The principal partners in these struggles were the nomadic Tuaregs, the minor *Hausa* States that fought an uninterrupted fight for their independence, and the *Fulah* peoples, which in the 16th to 18th centuries were expanding over all the countries of the Western (and partly of the Central) Sudan and began to exercise a great influence here and there in those countries, but did not establish any State of their own in any place until the end of the 18th century.

The Central Sudan Countries

Bornu

After its creation as a homogeneous State at the end of the 15th century, Bornu was growing in power for about one hundred years. Having crushed the Bulala tribe in 1500, the sultans of Bornu carried on conquering campaigns one after another, subjecting and subjugating a multitude of small countries and tribes, extending at the same time the boundaries of their State.

By the end of the 16th century Bornu became the strongest military State in all the Sudan, owing, first of all, to the introduction of firearms. An important moment in the 15th-century history of Bornu was also the immigration of a number of *Fulah* tribes in the middle of the century.

The first half of the 17th century was for Bornu a period of peaceful prospering. But from the mid-17th century, during the reign of Sultan ALI BEN EL-HADJ-OMAR (1645—84), the country suffered the consequences of several great wars (with the Sultan of Air, the Tuaregs, etc.), and other unfortunate events such as (a) three successive pilgrimages of the sultan to Mecca (1648, 1656, 1667); (b) a big uprising of many peoples of the country at the time of the sultan's return from his third pilgrimage, and (c) the famine that had become permanent during his reign.

After the death of this sultan there were no wars for almost one hundred years, but starvation was permanent among the Bornuese people, resulting in a catastrophic weakening of the country. When ALI BEN EL-HADJ-DUNAMA (1755—93) again conducted several unsuccessful campaigns in which his army was crushed, the one-time might of Bornu dwindled to nothing, and by the end of the 18th century the country became an easy prey to any conqueror.

Baghirmi

At the beginning of the 16th century, a new State, Baghirmi, was founded south-east of Lake Chad, between Bornu and Wadai, by a pagan Arab tribe coming from the east, which under the command of its chief, BIRNI-BESSE (1522—30), overthrew the rule of the Bulala, conquered the minor kingdoms of the region, and united them — together with the nomadic tribes living there — in a homogeneous State.

The third ruler of Baghirmi after BIRNI-BESSE, a nephew of his, MALO (1548–58), was overcome by his brother, ABD-ALLAN (1568–1608), who had formerly adopted Islam. Seizing the power, he introduced Mohammedanism in the country.

The country reached the height of its prosperity in the reign of Sultan MUHAMMED EL-AMIN (1751–85), whose military campaigns considerably extended the boundaries of the country to the north and the southeast.

The sultan of Baghirmi was an absolute monarch, but instead of him the government was in the hands of court dignitaries, whose jurisdiction extended over whole districts and tribes. Eunuchs played an important part in the court and the army. A rigid courtly etiquette was established. In the period under discussion the Baghirmi assimilated many of the local nomadic tribes and mingled also with others.

Wadai and Darfur

Late in the 15th century and early in the 16th, the eastern part of the Central Sudan (Wadai and Darfur) was conquered by a nomadic Arab people, the *Tunjer*, who had migrated into Africa from Arabia before the appearance of Islam and had for centuries been living in Nubia.

The power of the Tunjer was short-lived but had a positive influence upon the further development of both countries in two respects:

1. The tribes of Darfur, who had so far lived in isolation from one another and were bound together only by their being dependent on the Dadio people who ruled over them, were united in one State by the Tunjer; in Wadai the Tunjer domination was the first State formation of the tribes living dispersed in the country.

2. Although the Tunjer rule was overthrown in both countries, there prevailed yet the elements of Arabic culture which the Tunjer had brought into these countries and which had a favourable influence on the development of the African peoples who lived there.

The power of the Tunjer in Darfur collapsed in the 16th century, as a consequence of the revolt of the indigenous population led by DELIL BAHAH of the Kera tribe (a mixture of the former ruling clan with the aborigines), who founded a new dynasty. During the reign of his great-grandson, SOLEIMAN SOLON (1596–1635), who adopted Islam, Darfur became a great military power, conquering Sennar and Kordofan on the east and making the Tunjer rulers of Wadai his tributaries on the west.

In 1635 (the year of the death of SOLEIMAN SOLON) the Tunjer in Wadai were overthrown by the indigenous peoples headed by the Mohammedan Arab ABD-EL-KERIM, who now became sultan of Wadai (1635–55). He and his son, HARUSH (1655–79), were still tributaries to Darfur (and to Bornu), but the country was rising in power, and Sultan JAKOB ARUS (1681–1707) already refused to obey to Darfur and in a war upon it attained his country's independence.

In the mid-18th century the Darfurian sultans made two more attempts to subjugate Wadai (OMAR LELE in 1739 and ABU-EL-KASIM in 1752), but both were defeated. It is interesting to note that part of their troops deserted the Darfurian sultans in both campaigns. (As a consequence, OMAR LELE became a captive himself and died in Wadai in 1750).

In the second half of the 18th century at last Darfur became resigned to the loss of Wadai, and Sultan TIRAB (1752–85) started campaigns on the west against the

Funj, who ruled Sennar,¹ with a view to recapturing Kordofan that had been seized by the Funj. He died in Kordofan during his last campaign in 1785.

His brother, ABD-ER-RAHMAN (1785–99), renounced the plans of conquest. For 300 years he was the first and only sultan of Darfur to reign without making war.

Sultan DJOD of Wadai (1747–95), after definitely repelling the Darfurians' attempted conquests (1752), was himself engaged in conquering campaigns. He conducted altogether eight campaigns to the south against the pagan tribes and considerably extended the boundaries of his country. In addition, he conquered part of Kanem on the west.

B) THE COUNTRIES BETWEEN THE UPPER GUINEA COAST AND THE WESTERN SUDAN

Ashanti

In the 16th and 17th centuries the Denkera State rich in gold occupied the interior regions adjoining the Gold Coast and held many nationalities of the *Ga* group in subjection. The "king" of Denkera carried on traffic in slaves and was in contact with the Dutch.

One of the dependent peoples, the Ashanti tribe, towards the end of the 17th century refused to pay tribute and, when the Denkera ruler tried to capture slaves from the tribe, the Ashanti under the command of their chief, OSAI TUTU, rose in arms against him. The king of Denkera sent against them his troops equipped with a number of cannons which he had received from the Dutch in exchange for slaves. Despite this, the Ashanti defeated their subjugators, seized their cannons (which are to this day displayed in Kumasi) and became an independent nation. According to BOSMAN,² the Denkera troops lost about 100,000 men in two decisive battles of this war, while their allies, the Axim, lost about 30,000, and the survivors were taken into slavery by the Ashanti.

After this victory, in the 18th century, the might of Ashanti rose steadily. It was based upon the traffic in gold and slaves and upon the tributes paid by the tribes they subjugated both on the coast and in the inland areas. On account of the slave trade they were frequently at war with the coastal tribes whose chiefs were the main mediators between the Ashanti and the Europeans, incessantly hunting for slaves in the neighbouring interior countries.

The king of Ashanti had absolute power over the persons and properties of his tribesmen, but 1. he was responsible for the security and well-being of his people; 2. he was obliged to observe strictly the laws and customs of the country; 3. without the consent of the State council (*Ashanti-Katoko*) consisting of his mother and of the chiefs of the principal provinces and army units, the king himself could not decide matters of national concern, and the council could even dethrone him. The provincial chiefs were appointed by the king, they were under his jurisdiction and paid him tribute; they, in turn, had full power over the district and village headmen. The emblem of the royal power was a golden stool. The Ashanti society was divided into three estates: aristocracy (princes, dignitaries, chiefs), freemen and slaves.

¹ See p. 161.

² Bosman, an official of the Dutch East India company, spent 14 years on the Gold Coast late in the 17th century and, after making explorations into those regions, wrote his book published under the title *Voyage de Guinée* in Holland in 1704.

Military service was compulsory and the army was recruited on a territorial basis. The troops were under the command of hereditary chiefs. In war the Ashanti were distinguished for their death-defying bravery. The military chiefs had to stay close behind of their troops and, in the case of defeat, were obliged to commit suicide. The king had his own life-guard of about one thousand men (*kra* or *okra*, "the king's soul") who acted also as body-guards and scouts of the king and, according to old traditions, if the king died, had to follow him into his grave. The Ashanti practised human sacrifices: (a) at the burial of the king and notabilities, (b) every year at the traditional feast of "purification" (which at the same time was the harvest festival and the day celebrating the memory of the ancestors), which was of great political importance, because all chiefs dependent on the king and all tributaries of the State had to attend it in person.

Dahomey

Dahomey, another significant slave-holding State, arose in the rear of the so-called Slave Coast, somewhat nearer the coast than Ashanti. It was formed early in the 17th century by the *Fon* tribe of the Ewe group under the leadership of the chief, TACODONU, who became the first "king", that is, the paramount chief of Dahomey (1625–50).

The rulers of Dahomey, like those of Ashanti, carried on a great commerce in slaves with the neighbouring peoples and, through the mediation of the coastal tribes, with the Europeans as well.

Early in the 18th century, in the reign of GUAJA TRUDO (1708–30), they began to conquer and turn into their vassals the small "kingdoms" (that is, tribal alliances) of the coastal regions (Adrah in 1723–24, Whydah in 1727–28). Thus they clashed also with the Europeans who had their factories on the coast and managed to keep their hands on the local princelings. As the result of foreign, mainly British, intervention in the internecine struggle between the Dahomi and the coastal tribes, many factories were destroyed by the Dahomi and many foreigners were taken into captivity, but afterward they all were set at liberty, except the British governor of Whydah who was killed.

The conquest of the coast gave a new impulse to the prosperity of Dahomey, especially in the field of the slave trade. In the 18th century Dahomey subjugated also a number of tribes in the interior regions. In 1763 the coast tribes made an attempt to win independence, but their revolt was crushed. In 1784 Dahomey occupied also Badagry (in the place of present-day Cotonu).

As to social organization, customs and usages, the Dahomi had much in common with the Ashanti. The king's power over the persons, lives and properties of his subjects in Dahomey was still more absolute than in Ashanti (foreign trade was his personal monopoly; he had the right to give the daughters of his subjects in marriage, keeping the purchase price for himself; in olden times the children in early boyhood were taken from their parents and given to other families in order to rid them of the family bonds which would impede their being educated in a spirit of absolute loyalty to the king, etc.). But in respect of State affairs his power was limited. Although under less severe laws than in Ashanti, the king was obliged to rule in accordance with the customs and traditions of his people. Here there was no "State council", but the king's every action was under the control of two high dignitaries, one of whom was responsible for the home affairs, the other being entrusted with the foreign

affairs (including trading activities). The king was paid more honours than in Ashanti; he was considered a demigod (nobody was permitted to see him eating; while giving audience to his subjects, he was seated behind a curtain, etc.). In Dahomey, like in Ashanti, the strictest etiquette was of great importance. The emblem of the power here was a cane. The king was succeeded on the throne by his eldest son. Between the death of the king and the enthronement of his successor there was a long period of interregnum during which criminal offences remained unpunished, because in the thinking of the Dahomi the administration of the law was not possible without the king who was the source of law and order.

The way the army was recruited in Dahomey, in contrast to Ashanti, was that the vicegerent of every province raised a certain number of soldiers. A singular institution in the Dahomeyan army was the *female guard* of the Dahomi king. The "Dahomi Amazons" (as the Europeans called them) could not have husbands, but the king had the right to live with any one of them, and they all had the status of royal wives (whoever seduced a female warrior, just as the seducer of a royal wife, was put to death); they were not allowed to look at men, except during parades and in war, but even in such cases they were strictly separated from the male warriors. They wore variegated trim uniforms, but went barefoot. Their armament consisted of muskets and sharp knives. In time of peace they were the personal guard of the king and of his wives. They took an active part in all festivities, parading and dancing. Marshalled in regiments, they acted as shock troops in military campaigns. In battles they excelled in bravery and cruelty.

A special place in the State of Dahomey was held by the king's first wife who bore the title of queen, being responsible, as such, for the management of the entire royal harem and having power over life and death in this precinct. The sons of the "queen" alone were considered royal princes. The sons born of the other royal wives constituted a privileged group (*akovi*), from among whom came the high dignitaries, but alluding to their descent was by tradition forbidden on pain of death.

In Dahomey, like in Ashanti, human sacrifices were practised at the funeral ceremony of the king or the nobility and at the "festival of purification"; a singular aspect of the human sacrifices was "the sending of a messenger by the king into the other world" (with the king's report on his deeds to the ancestors).

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THE PORTUGUESE IN THE CONGO AND ANGOLA

The Peoples of the Congo in the 16th to 18th Centuries

We have seen that the peoples of West and Central Equatorial Africa — the Western Bantu tribes — had in olden times been divided into two large groups: in the north various dispersed small tribes lived in the region of the middle course of the Congo, while in the south, in the regions of the upper reaches of the Congo, Kasai, Sankuru, Kwango and Kwanza Rivers, there arose smaller and larger tribal federations ("States") which in the western areas adjoining the coast were grouping around the "Kingdom of Kongo" and in the east, around the "State of Mwata Yamvo" (the Lunda empire).

The Portuguese appeared, as the first representatives of the Europeans, in the coastal areas of the Congo kingdom in the last few years of the 15th century, and, as we are going to see below, soon subjected those territories to their influence. Owing to permanent contacts with an advanced European power in the form of either peaceful intercourse or military conflicts, the peoples of this part of Equatorial Africa were dragged into the orbit of the world's historical process early in the 16th century.

In the course of the 16th to 18th centuries Europeans did not yet penetrate into the *inland areas of the Congo* along the Equator. They established their factories and settlements on the coast but did not venture farther than a couple of kilometres from the sea. The impenetrable forests and tropical fever kept them from intruding into the heart of Africa.

The result was that, unlike the Congo countries, the *countries of the Lunda empire* remained almost completely untouched by the intrusion of European colonizers during the entire period of the 16th to 18th centuries.

Whether the Portuguese made any attempts, and how, to penetrate into these countries is so far impossible to ascertain. One variant says that the Portuguese, when the slaves brought from the interior areas let them know about the existence of these countries, fitted out several expeditions to explore them, but these expeditions never came back. According to another version, the Portuguese must have had some commercial intercourse with the Lunda countries, and certain Portuguese merchants even visited them in person.¹ There is, however, every reason for doubt in this respect. But, if such contacts did really exist, they could have been very

¹ See BOWDICH, *An Account of the Discoveries of the Interior of Angola and Mozambique from the original manuscripts* (London, 1824).

insignificant and rare and were kept secret from the outside world, since there is no documentary evidence of them. At any rate, they could not have been of any essential consequence to the interior development of the Lunda countries.

For lack of documentary data about the history of the Lunda countries of this epoch, we do not know whether the slave-raiding campaigns organized by the African agents of the Europeans reached these countries, whether they secured slaves from these areas, whether the "kings" and the tribal chiefs of the Lunda countries participated in the slave trade, whether there were military conflicts on this account between the Lunda countries and other tribes of the Congo, etc.

Of the domestic history of the Lunda countries for this epoch we have no knowledge either, since the first trustworthy information about them dates from the very last years of the 18th century. Even the question whether slavery existed in the Lunda countries has not as yet been clarified. True, later on European travellers related that they had seen slaves among certain peoples of the Lunda empire. But from their stories we can almost safely conclude that slavery here was not an established social institution but only a superficial phenomenon of a relatively late period (after the appearance of the Portuguese on the coast in connexion with the slave trade), and it was never a wide-spread practice; relations between slaveholders and slaves were of an extremely mild and patriarchal nature.¹

The coming of the Portuguese and the development of the slave trade had entirely different reflections upon the *peoples of the inland regions of the northern Congo*. The Lunda States which were rather strong and well equipped with arms may or may not have taken part in the slave trade; if there were attacks of slave-hunting expeditions upon their territories, they could defend themselves and repel such attacks. On the other hand, the small and dispersed tribes on the north, which were accustomed and prepared only to fighting with the wild beasts of the forests and with primitive societies of their own kind, proved entirely defenceless and helpless in front of attacks from powerful hunting expeditions organized by human beasts of prey.

As soon as the slave trade began, the interior areas along the Equator became one of the principal regions affected by this terrible plague, and the peoples here suffered most of all. The Europeans themselves were not able to penetrate into the depths of the equatorial areas, but they subjugated the coastal tribes, oppressed and plundered them, and compelled and taught them to hunt their neighbours and to capture slaves for the Europeans, who even supplied them with the necessary implements and weapons. Thus it was that the curse of the slave trade went deeper and deeper into the heart of Africa. Some tribesmen became slave traders themselves, and others fell prey to the slave trade.

When the tribes living in the heart of Africa became aware of the constant threat coming from the west, they began to migrate eastward. But they fell out of the frying pan into the fire. Simultaneously with the expansion of the slave hunt from the west organized by the Europeans, another wave of horrors started from the east: that of the Arab slave traders. Like the Europeans, the Arab merchants, who formerly had carried on their trade in the "living merchandise" only in the vicinity of the coast, began intruding into the interior of Africa, with the only difference that they did not fear risking their own lives in the interest of good profits. Unlike the Europeans,

¹ See WISSMANN, *Unter deutscher Flagge quer und durch Afrika von West nach Ost* (Berlin, 1889), p. 93.

they did not entrust the Africans with organizing the manhunt, but they conducted their expeditions themselves.

The peoples of the interior of Africa found themselves between two fires. They became hunted beasts. They had to hide, being constantly on the move, in order to escape the man hunters who came ever nearer from both sides. And the otherwise weak small tribes were dispersed and weakened further.

The "Christianization" of the Congo

When DIEGO CAM returned from his second voyage to the estuary of the Congo, he brought with him several Africans to Portugal. There they were baptized and educated accordingly.

After that, in 1491, DIEGO CAM set out for the Congo for the third time. This time the expedition, which included those baptized Africans and a group of missionaries, had the task of subjecting the countries of the Congo to Portuguese influence by converting them to Christianity.

Portuguese and other European sources are enthusiastic about the brilliant and speedy results achieved by the Christian religion in the Congo. To tell the truth, the chief of the coastal province of Songo, subordinate to the paramount chief of the Congo tribal alliance, immediately embraced Christianity together with many of his tribesmen and led the Portuguese into the interior of the country, right into the capital city of the paramount. This latter, together with his court, also adopted Christianity and even renamed his capital "São Salvador."

In the first three decades of the 16th century the missionaries, who were granted by the chief full freedom of propaganda, succeeded in converting thousands of Africans to Christianity. Portuguese authors assert that the number of the converts reached 100,000. From 1534 the Congo had even its own African bishop. The missionaries were followed by the slave traders. Factories were set up on the coasts, and the slave trade began to prosper.

The so very "brilliant" success of the Christian slave dealers in securing the subjection of a whole group of African countries to the Portuguese influence is accounted for by the political situation which the Portuguese found in the Congo in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. This situation was determined mainly by two factors: 1. the relations that existed between the paramount of the Congo and the dependent local chiefs, that of Songo in particular, and 2. the threat of outside attacks upon the Congo, which by the end of the 15th century, as a result of the peoples' migration into the interior of Africa, became permanent.

The chief of Songo was dreaming of seizing the supreme power over the entire Congo or, at least, putting an end to his dependence upon the paramount chief. This latter, on the other hand, was aware of the necessity of strengthening the central power and tightening the subjection of the dependent countries and chiefs. The alien newcomers possessed superior weapons and lots of "wonder-working things" of every kind (crosses, rosaries, etc.) which in the eyes of the fetish-worshipping Africans seemed no less effective martial implements than the firearms, the more so because the missionaries, making the best they could of the African masses' predisposition to superstition of any kind, were preaching the Christian religion mainly by spreading religious superstitions. At the same time the aliens from beyond the seas, despite the obviousness of their superior strength, unlike all the other

foreign (African) peoples whom the Congo peoples had so far encountered, came not as enemies but offered friendship. It is but natural that both chiefs — the paramount and the dependent one — found it reasonable and desirable to accept the offer of friendship (the more so because resistance would have been obviously useless) and to make the best they could of the new ally to pursue their own policy. This was as well one of the main reasons why in the first period of the Portuguese era both chiefs (those of Songo and the Congo) were rivalling, as it was, with each other in doing services and playing up to the Portuguese.

Another, still more important, consideration in favour of the alliance with the Portuguese was the desire to have a strong ally in the forthcoming struggles with other peoples. In the same year when DIEGO CAM appeared in the Congo with his big third expedition (1491), an uprising against the Congo was started by the dependent Mundekwete people. The war was already going on when the Portuguese made their appearance, and the odds were just in favour of the Mundekwete. When after this, with Portuguese help, the war was easily won and the uprising crushed, the aborigines began to regard the Portuguese with their gonfalons and crosses, which they carried with them in war, as preternatural beings. The chiefs of the Congo, knowing from their own experience that further attacks upon their country, particularly from peoples of the interior continent, would in the future be inevitable, welcomed the alliance with the powerful aliens.

The slave-trading activities of the Portuguese that beginning from the early 16th century did not hamper the development of peaceful and friendly relations between the Portuguese and the African ruling circles, but rather promoted this trend. Slavery as such was no novelty to the Congo, and the despatch of slaves into distant countries did not bother the rulers. The majority of such slaves came from other countries and peoples, and were captured in war or in special slave-raiding campaigns. But even if slaves from the very Congo were sent overseas, large numbers of them being at the disposal of the Congo rulers, this meant to them only a new lucrative business without prejudice to their economic and other needs.

The attitude of the Portuguese newcomers toward the popular masses of the Congo was a different matter. As the slave trade was developing and the peoples gradually became aware of the hypocritical activities of the missionaries and could see their direct contact with the slave trade, there was rising discontent and indignation against the alien slave hunters. This at first was expressed in a sort of "religious disturbances", that is, clashes between Christian and non-Christian Africans, and even between various groups of Christian Africans.

But the outburst of popular indignation against the Portuguese was delayed for a time by great events: The Congo was under threat from the outside, on the part of the Jagga army, which temporarily made it imperative for the Congo peoples to maintain good relations with the Portuguese for the defence of their countries against the imminent attack.

The Attack of the Jagga upon the Congo and the Expulsion of the Portuguese

Of the Jagga people we know very little, of their former history — nothing. To judge from the narratives of contemporaries, the most probable supposition is that they were a people akin to the Zulu and that they had migrated to the west from the regions around the sources of the Zambezi and Congo Rivers. Portuguese who fought against them described them as cannibals. But quite a number of facts we know

for certain, thanks to the English fisherman BATTEL, who lived as a prisoner among the Jagga for about 18 years, evidence that their man-eating habits were only invented by the Portuguese.

The Jagga appeared for the first time on the borders of the Congo under the command of their chief, SIMBO, in 1542. The Congo troops, aided by their Portuguese allies, offered them stubborn resistance, but "this time the cross and the holy water proved powerless." The Congo troops were completely defeated, São Salvador was taken and burnt down with all its Christian churches. The paramount chief of the Congo, ALVARO I, had to flee and hide on an island of the Congo river in the proximity of present-day Boma.

From there he asked for the help of the king of Portugal, who then sent to his relief 600 Portuguese soldiers under the command of FRANCISCO DE GOUA. After four years' struggle the united forces of the Congo and Portugal drove the Jagga beyond the Congo frontiers. But the Jagga, moving now northward and now southward, continued their campaigns against the countries situated in the region of the Congo estuary. For a number of years they ruled Angola, the city of Loanda being in their hands for full seven years, and at the end of the 16th century (1590—1600) they were active in the south, at Benguela. In this last period of their attacks their warriors numbered around 16,000. Early in the 17th century they stopped their campaigns and settled down in the region of the upper Kwango.

After the ousting of the Jagga the Portuguese influence in the Congo increased considerably. As "rescuers of the country from the Jagga," they did not hesitate to present their bill, acquiring more and more privileges. They went even as far as to demand from the paramount of the Congo information on all mines of precious metals in the country. True, the paramount chief, as the result of an outburst of general indignation, refused to obey in this respect, but otherwise he and his "ministers" remained co-operative.

In the meantime the slave trade assumed ever larger proportions with the increasingly active participation of the missionaries as agents of the slave dealers.

The outrages done by the slave dealers and the missionaries, and the servile policy of the chiefs, resulted not only in the deterioration of relations with the neighbouring peoples (Bushongo, etc.), but also in growing popular discontent within the country and in agitation among the large masses of the population. The popular movement was directed, first of all, against the missionaries and all Portuguese, but at the same time also against the policy of the African chiefs.

Afterwards this discontent grew into open rebellion. The rebels were headed by a member of the Congo "royal family." He assumed the name BULA MATADI ("the Breaker of Stones").¹ A civil war broke out, bringing death not only to the majority of the Portuguese living in the country, but to almost every member of the "ruling family." ALVARO II (who reigned from 1574 to 1614) began a completely new course of policy. Seemingly maintaining friendly relations with the Portuguese, in fact he began gradually to curtail their privileges and liquidate his dependence upon them. As a result of his clever policy, by the end of the 16th century the Portuguese virtually lost all their power over the Congo and in the first half of the 17th century (about 1630) were definitely expelled together with all their missionaries. Then they moved into Angola where by that time they had more or less firm positions.

¹ STANLEY, having learned about this legendary hero of the Congo peoples, later appropriated this name for himself in order to raise his authority in the eyes of the Africans.

The Portuguese Conquest of Angola and the Uprising of Jinga Bandi

When the Portuguese became aware that they could not subjugate the Congo countries or even impose any lasting influence, they transferred the centre of their intrigues to Angola. Angola was discovered by the Portuguese as early as 1490. The country was held in subjection by the Congo. Prior to the seventies of the 16th century the Portuguese made no attempt whatever to conquer it. In 1574 a Portuguese expedition conducted by PAULO DIAZ (grandson of BARTHOLOMEU DIAZ) went to Angola. According to Portuguese sources, this expedition had been sent out at the request of the African "king" of Angola. But by the time it arrived there the "king" was dead, and his successor considered the Portuguese his prisoners, and, before allowing them to return to Portugal, compelled them to take part in a number of local wars against neighbouring tribes. Thus DIAZ and his expedition were able to get acquainted with the interior of the country.

Arriving in Portugal, DIAZ reported on everything he had seen to the king of Portugal. The king immediately sent him back to Angola as "Conqueror, Colonizer and Governor of Angola" with the task of conquering the whole country for Portugal. To this end he gave him seven ships with 700 men.

Upon arriving at the Bay of Loanda, DIAZ took possession of an island in front of the bay (which is today the harbour of São Paulo de Loanda) and then, landing at Loanda, erected there a fort (Fort São Miguel) and founded the city of São Paulo (which became the capital of the Portuguese possessions in Angola).

The aborigines, obviously aware of the uselessness of offering resistance to a much stronger enemy, were at first marking time. They took no action at all for several years. Then (about 1580) they unexpectedly launched a war of liberation against the intruders. Taken unawares by the first attack, the Portuguese troops of approximately 500 stationed in the interior of the country were completely annihilated. DIAZ had only 150 soldiers left, but they were equipped with muskets, which the Africans were not, and had even cannons. Owing to their technical superiority, they inflicted several grave blows on the aborigines. The latter, however, in spite of their heavy losses, did not lay down their primitive weapons for a long time, and this war of unequal forces lasted many years. Only in 1597 did the Portuguese succeed in definitely crushing the resistance of the Africans and consolidating their power on both banks of the Kwanza river.

In the same year, 1597, Angola received from Portugal and Spain about 200 Flemish colonists. Soon, however, they were all dead from tropical fever. But the influx of merchants and missionaries continued, and the human traffic went on flourishing. Attempts were made to penetrate into the interior of the continent, but none of the adventurers, soldiers and missionaries sent with these expeditions were ever heard of again.

The "peaceful" flourishing of the slave trade in Angola, which had begun in 1597, did not last long. The quiet of the Africans was but apparent. The African masses and many of their chiefs did not submit to foreign oppression and did not renounce their struggle. But after the grave defeats sustained in previous years, the submissive elements headed by the paramount chief of Angola gained the upper hand among the ruling quarters of the country. The popular masses, however, exasperated at the Portuguese outrages and the meekness of their chiefs, soon found a chief of their own in the person of a legendary heroine — a veritable Joan of Arc in African history — "Queen" Jinga Bandi.

According to Portuguese chroniclers, in 1621 there appeared in Loanda, on the coast, an indigenous "princess", "sister of the native king of Angola", Jinga Bandi. She pretended to be friendly with the Portuguese and even received baptism. After that, returning into the interior of the country, she roused the people to revolt, removed her brother from power (the Portuguese assert that she poisoned him herself), occupied his place and declared war on the Portuguese with a view to expelling the alien intruders for good and all. The war of liberation under her command lasted 30 years. For these three decades, according to a Portuguese historian, she warred against the Portuguese "without seriously shaking their power", but in this war against her the Portuguese "could do little more than hold their own".

Portuguese and Dutch Rivalry for Angola

The uprising of Jinga Bandi was still going on when there appeared in Angola a new, much more serious threat to Portuguese domination. In the first half of the 17th century the Dutch made repeated attempts to seize the Portuguese possessions in Angola, and in 1641 they did not fail to capture the main citadel and trading centre of the Portuguese — São Paulo de Loanda. The Portuguese were compelled to withdraw along the Kwanza, but they held out in the fortress they had built on the river.

A prolonged struggle began along the banks of the Kwanza: the Dutch besieged the forts of the Portuguese who managed with difficulty to hold out until 1648, when the government of Portugal sent reinforcements from Brazil to Angola to the relief of the colony. They laid siege to Fort São Miguel that was in the hands of the Dutch, and the Dutch garrison of 1,100 men were forced to surrender despite their superior numbers (the Portuguese forces were only 750 men, of whom 163 were killed during the siege).

Upon this the Portuguese began systematically to dislodge the Dutch from all their bases on the lower Guinea coast. In this pursuit the Portuguese in the fifties of the 17th century found considerable help in two circumstances which had diverted the attention and the forces of the Dutch: the war between Holland and Britain (1652—54), and the foundation of Cape Colony (1652). As a result, the Portuguese succeeded in getting rid of their Dutch rivals and concluding with them treaties of peace (1662, 1669) by which the exclusive Portuguese rule over Angola was definitely recognized.

Angola in the 18th Century

After getting rid of their Dutch rivals, the Portuguese remained the monopolistic proprietors of Angola colony. But neither in the latter part of the 17th century nor during the entire 18th century did they make any attempt at colonization with European immigrants or at developing any sort of colonial husbandry of their own. Apart from a few trading (chiefly slave-trading) factories, storehouses and forts built to defend them, there was nothing in that colony.

Territorial changes were not made either until the middle of the 18th century. Only the slave-trading stations at Benguela, which had begun operating as early as 1617, were expanded by establishing in 1685 a big main station, Kakonda, in the mountain region south of Benguela.

From the middle of the 18th century the colony began to expand both to the north and to the south. In 1758 the Portuguese extended the boundaries of their possessions on the north as far as the Loje River, including the region of Ambriz, and in 1785 founded a new seaport, Mossamedes, south of Benguela.

The Portuguese made another attempt at expansion on the north, but here they met with unexpected resistance. When in 1784 — obviously to make up for the definitive loss of their influence over the Congo — they decided to occupy Cabinda (the coastal region north of the Congo estuary) and with this end in view began to build a fort of their own in the harbour of Cabinda, a French landing party appeared there and forced the Portuguese to pull down what they had built and to leave Cabinda.

This French intervention was no mere accident. In the years immediately before the revolution, France carried on a lively commerce just with this coastal region, making use of three points on the coast: Cabinda, Loango and Malembe. There is every reason for assuming that the French government at that time cherished the idea of establishing a new French colony in this part of Equatorial Africa. This is confirmed, for example, by the fact that, after the said incident with the Portuguese, France sent to Equatorial Africa a naval officer, DEGRANDPRÉ, to make a thorough study of the countries belonging to the "kingdom" of the Congo. DEGRANDPRÉ actually fulfilled this task in 1786—87 and gave a detailed account of his explorations, giving special consideration to the questions concerning the products, commerce and ports of these countries. The further development of the activities of the French government in this field, of course, was stopped by the revolution. DEGRANDPRÉ's report on his explorations was published in a book as late as 1801, in all probability with considerable abridgments, in the form of a scientific work "free of politics" on the African countries, their population and economy.¹

The Congo Countries after the Expulsion of the Portuguese

Liberation from the Portuguese did not bring peace to the Congo countries. After the departure of the Portuguese a new internecine struggle broke out among the local rulers and particularly between the paramount of the Congo and the chief of Songo. Already in 1631 Songo conquered Kakongo and Ngoye provinces and declared his independence from the Congo. There followed a series of internecine wars between the Congo and Songo (1636, 1641, 1667), in which the chief of Songo succeeded in safeguarding his independence, while the central power of the Congo slackened considerably. No insignificant part in this was played by the fact that the paramount chiefs of the Congo, finding themselves in a grave situation, again made repeated advances to the Portuguese, the result being that they became alienated from the popular masses, and the chiefs of Songo could launch campaigns against the Congo under slogans of the anti-Portuguese liberation struggle.

In 1687 the paramount chief of the Congo had to make war upon another rebellious province, Bamba, which in the end became independent.

Already during the decline of Portuguese influence in the Congo, in 1580, King PHILIP II of Spain, who was then in possession of Portugal as well, sent his agent, DUARTE LOPES, into the Congo to report on those countries and the situation in the Portuguese possessions. LOPES fulfilled his task but by the time he reached home, PHILIP already had other things to do (he was busy preparing the "Great Armada")

¹ L. DEGRANDPRÉ, *Voyage à la côte occidentale d'Afrique* (Paris, 1801), 2 vols.

against Britain!). LOPES then went to Rome, made the pontifical court interested in the affairs of the Portuguese colonies and handed over to it his account of the Congo kingdom. An official of the papal court, FILIPPO PIGAFETTA, published this account in Rome in 1591.¹

Afterwards the popes made several attempts to spur the missionary activity in the Congo (PAUL V in 1621, URBAN VIII in 1644, INNOCENT X in 1652), but all those missionary stations were short-lived: the missionaries felt compelled to move gradually into Angola.

In the 18th century missionaries and Christian Africans virtually did not exist in the Congo any longer. The Portuguese sitting in Angola, although they did not sever their commercial and other contacts with the Congo countries, made no more attempt to subjugate them in the 18th century. (In 1781 the Portuguese again attempted to install their missionaries in São Salvador, but it was a complete failure.)

Being left to their own devices, the Congo countries became again united step by step, and by the end of the 18th century the central power of the paramount chief of the Congo was stronger than ever before.

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See also the work of VAN WING (p. 89), the book of the traveller MAGYAR (p. 232), the works of STATHAM (ch. xiii, pp. 169—189) and MARQUARDSEN (p. 85).

THE EAST COAST

The Peoples of East Africa in the 16th to 18th Centuries

Little is known of the history of the Eastern Bantu tribes which in the 16th to 18th centuries inhabited the entire vast territory of East Equatorial and Southeast Africa, between the ocean and the Great Lakes. Or, more exactly, if by history we mean not simply a chain of successive events bearing upon the destinies of various human groups, but a process of great universal interest which "is precisely the resultant of these many wills operating in different directions and of their manifold effects upon the outer world that constituted history"¹ — then such history in the period of the 16th to 18th centuries did not yet exist for the East African tribes. Those great processes of migration and mixture of the peoples of East Africa that began long before that period (permanent struggles and partial mixtures of the Bantu with Hamitic tribes on the northeast, the merging of Hamites and Bantus in the Wahuma States, the slow migration of the Eastern Bantu to the south) continued during the 16th to 18th centuries and was closed on the whole by the end of that epoch. Migration to the south stopped in the 18th century because the great wave of peoples had reached the regions adjoining the southern extremity of the continent, where it met with the opposition of the comparatively weak indigenous population (the Khoi-Khoi and Saan tribes) and with the wave of the European settlers of Cape Colony drifting to the opposite direction (from the Cape of Good Hope to the east and northeast).²

Neither the struggle nor the mixture of the Eastern Bantu with the Hamites stopped, of course, in the north. But the process of formation of new mixed tribes and peoples due to centuries-long struggles and constant mixtures can be considered completed by the end of the 18th century. During this epoch (16th to 18th centuries) several of these "semi-Hamitic" and "Hamiticized Bantu" tribes were already able to create more or less strong tribal alliances in the form of primitive "military States." Such were, for example, the small "Jagga kingdoms" on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro, whose good (economic and military) organization later aroused the admiration of many Europeans.³

¹ F. ENGELS, "Ludwig Feuerbach . . ." (in MARX and ENGELS, *Selected Works*, vol. ii [Moscow, 1949], p. 354).

² See p. 172.

³ Among them Baron VON DER DECKEN, who described in detail the organization of these small Jagga States. See O. KERSTEN, *Baron Karl Klaus von der Decken's Travel in East Africa in 1859-61*. In Russian (Moscow, 1870), pp. 297-336.

The Jagga

Some authors¹ advanced the conjecture that the Wajagga were descendants of the Jagga people who in the 16th century had raided the Congo countries (on the territory of today's Angola). There is nothing, however, to support this assumption. According to the tradition of certain Wajagga tribes, they are descended from the Wakamba tribes, and according to others, from the Wateita. (Both these tribes live northeast of Mount Kilimanjaro, in Kenya.) At any rate it is beyond doubt that the Wajagga came to their actual residence not from the far southwest but from the neighbouring flat country lying northeast of Mount Kilimanjaro, from where they had been ousted by Hamitic invaders with whom they had not only been struggling and mixing for centuries but from whom they had also learned a great deal. In particular, the military organization of their tribes and their weapons evidently speak of the influence of the Masai, Wakuazi, etc. The time of migration of the Wajagga tribes to their present territory cannot be ascertained precisely, but it certainly took place within the epoch under discussion and was closed by the end of the 18th century. They were divided into dozens of tribes, every one of them having its own small tribal "State" headed by a "king" (*manki*). In time of peace the king reigned together with an assembly of representatives of all the warriors of his tribe. Land and cattle were considered property of the chief, who accorded them to his tribesmen without compensation. They had neither towns nor villages, and every family lived by itself on its farmstead that consisted of a number of huts set up usually in a banana grove and surrounded by a high wattle. The chief's farmstead was the fortified centre of the whole territory of the tribe. The Wajagga were skilful agriculturists, possessed vast irrigation systems, and were distinguished armourers (they were the main suppliers of javelins to the Masai and other warlike tribes). Field work and trade were the business of the women, while irrigation, animal husbandry and weapon-making were the men's concern.

The Masai

Of great consequence to the fate of East African peoples were those changes — tribal migrations and struggles — which in this epoch took place in the northeast part of East Equatorial Africa (in the eastern half of today's Kenya). These changes were connected with the coming on the scene of history of the Masai tribes.

The *Masai* are pastoral tribes of Hamitic descent (semi-Hamites).² Their original homeland — like that of their congeners, the Wakuazi and the Wandorobo — was in Northeast Africa, from where they little by little moved farther south. This wandering took place in three great successive waves of migration at considerable intervals. The first to go was the Wandorobo group. They were nomadic shepherds until the new migratory wave of the Wakuazi group drove them out of their East African pastures and pushed them southward. From their good pasture lands the Wandorobo came into a region of bushvelds and, as a result, from rich shepherds they changed into poor hunters. Occupying the former Wandorobo territories later, the Wakuazi

¹ See, for example, DUVEYRIER's article in the *Bulletin de la Société de géographie de Paris* for February 1873.

² See p. 78.

— as the result of frequent cattle plagues and permanent wars with other tribes — became so weak that, by the time the third wave of migration (the Masai proper) came, their strength of resistance was considerably undermined. Nevertheless, they combated the Masai for a very long time and were not driven away till the middle of the 19th century.¹

The Wahuma States

Of the history of the *Wahuma States*² prior to the end of the 18th century we have no reliable knowledge, since no kind of written chronicle was kept in these countries. (The peoples of the Wahuma countries learned to read and write from the Arabs as late as the 19th century.) The peoples of Uganda, it is true, have many interesting historical legends and a rich folklore. But it is impossible to tell the grains of historical truth from them.³ These legends carry a complete genealogy of rulers: they mention twenty-six “kings” preceding CHABAGU who reigned at the beginning of the 19th century, but do not indicate the times of their reigns. The legends contain the most fantastic things about the deeds of the Uganda kings. For instance, one of these beautiful legends, as told by STANLEY, speaks of an extraordinary warrior, KIBAGA, who lived in the reign of King NAKIVINGI and who possessed the power of flying and in NAKIVINGI’s wars against the Wanyoro went into the air to ascertain the whereabouts of the enemy and showered great rocks upon them.⁴

The only fact we can state for certain, on the basis of legends and traditions, is that Kitara, a great Wahuma State, by and by broke up into a number of small chiefdoms and that the chiefs of the strongest of them, Buganda, carried on campaigns in order to re-unite them, in which they sometimes (partially and temporarily) succeeded.

Another real historical fact is the existence of the Wahuma States themselves, with their socio-economic system which assumed its final shape just in the period under discussion.

The head of each Wahuma State — the *kabaka*, that is, the king — was regarded as proprietor of all lands in the country. To his military chiefs the *kabaka* gave out large estates, whole districts, for use during their lifetime. In return, they were obliged to pay him tribute and, in case of emergency, to go to war with their troops.⁵ Every military chief, in turn, had the right to make all peasants work for him and serve in his troops. Thus, the political structure of the Wahuma States, as we can see, contained in itself the basic elements of the feudal system.

The masses of the population in the Wahuma States were made up chiefly of free peasants but there were also slaves. These came from subjugated alien tribes as prisoners of war. There were among them particularly many women and young people, since the adult men of the vanquished tribes were usually killed, and only the women and children were captured and taken into slavery.

¹ See p. 257. ff.

² See p. 57.

³ Many of the historical legends of Uganda were taken down and published by the traveller STANLEY in his work entitled *Through the Dark Continent*.

⁴ *Op. cit.* (London edition, 1890), pp. 221–222.

⁵ In the Urundi State, in contrast to other Wahuma States, the king (the chief of the tribal alliance) was not a ruler but only the “first chief” on an equal footing with the others.

The Tribes of the Interior Areas

The peoples of the interior areas of East Africa, despite incessant intertribal wars and mixing, continued to live, on the whole, in separation from one another. There was no systematic bartering nor other permanent intercourse among them. Clashes occurred from time to time, resulting, of course, in substantial changes for those who took part in the wars: some perished, others flourished; some lost their lands and herds, others captured them, etc. But their “wills operating in different directions” did not yet have “their manifold effects upon the outer world” which constitute history. This is why only a few of the East African tribes (the coastal tribes in the first place) were dragged, to some extent, into the world’s historical process in this period. This was due to their encounters with more advanced intruders (Arabs, Portuguese) who had long before reached that higher stage of development on which peoples are not only active or passive participants of the events, but are also makers of history.

The Swahili

On the central part of the East African littoral, between Mombasa and the mouth of the Ruvuma River, during the epoch under discussion there emerged and developed, as a particularly mixed ethnic group, the present-day people of the *Waswahilis*.

A narrow coast strip on the shore of the Indian Ocean between Mombasa and Cape Delgado (only a few kilometres wide on the north and somewhat wider on the south), as well as the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba and Mafia, now have a strongly mixed population. But, despite the many alien elements (Arabs, Persians, Baluchis, Indians and Europeans) and the centuries-long manifold mixing of peoples in this region, the principal population is made up of the Waswahilis. Originally this name belonged to one distinct Eastern Bantu tribe of the coast which, however, called themselves *Shirasi*, not Waswahili. From the mixture of this tribe with many neighbouring kindred tribes and also in part with Arabs came a new mixed stock which adopted the language of that tribe, the Kiswahili, which later became the common language — *lingua franca* — of all East Africa.¹

The Makwa and the Mazimba

In the northern half of present-day Mozambique (in the territory bounded north by the Ruvuma River, west by Lake Nyasa and the Shiré River, south by the Zambezi River and east by the ocean), the main part in the conflicts that took place with the Portuguese and Arabs in the 16th century was played by two tribes: the *Makwa* and the *Mazimba*.

The Makwa, who occupied the eastern part of this territory, were the most active participants of the defensive struggles of the tribes living in this part of the continent

¹ At present the name Waswahili is applied in a wider sense to this entire mixed coastal people (that is, to all the inhabitants of this coast strip who belong to the Eastern Bantu group), and in the strict sense of the word to the pure offspring of the Shirasi tribe. It is usual to distinguish among the Waswahili (in the wider sense of the word) also the *Watuwamrima* or *Wamrima* (“coastal inhabitants” who did not mix with Arabs) and the *Wangwana* (inhabitants of the big cities of Zanzibar who are mixed with Arabs).

and for centuries held their ground against both the Arabs and the Portuguese and played also an outstanding role in the later history of East Africa.

The Mazimba (whose territory was lying west of the Makwa and who in the 16th century took the lead in the struggle against the Arabs and Portuguese and in many internecine wars of African tribes), however, completely vanished by the end of the 16th century. Historians usually mention them as having "disappeared from history."¹

All these explanations are completely arbitrary. There is no evidence whatever to support them, what is more, there are two facts speaking against all three assumptions.

1. On a map of Africa made in Amsterdam in 1719, on the basis of data supplied by Portuguese travellers of the 16th and 17th centuries, a "Zimba State" is indicated inside the southeast part of Africa, as an independent country ruled by a "king" towards the end of the 17th century. The map even shows military fortifications on the eastern border of the country, as well as a main road used by the Mazimba in their trading expeditions.²

2. About one hundred kilometres south of the mouth of the Ruvuma River there is a bay called "Mazimbua" where a village of the same name is situated.

It appears most probable that the "Mazimba State", a big tribal alliance in the 16th to 18th centuries (in time of both war and peace), later, in the first half of the 19th century, (when the Southern Bantu were migrating back) fell apart under the pressure of stronger bellicose tribes attacking from the south (which had better weapons and a finer military organization borrowed from the Zulus). The various tribes of the State, retaining their own tribal names, settled down in different regions and have survived to the present day.

Monomotapa

In the southern half of today's Mozambique, between the Limpopo and Zambezi Rivers, lived certain tribes of the *Shona* group (the Makalanga). These same tribes inhabited also the inland areas between the Limpopo and Zambezi (the territory of present-day Southern Rhodesia), and, as far as we know, already before the period under discussion founded there a powerful tribal federation, Monomotapa. By the end of the 15th century the paramount chief ("emperor", as the Portuguese called him) of Monomotapa exercised his power over almost all the tribes living on the vast territory between the Limpopo and Zambezi as far as the ocean coast. But right at the beginning of the 16th century centrifugal tendencies came to the fore in the State of Monomotapa. About 1500 the tribe of the chief CHIKANGA seceded from Monomotapa and founded a State of its own, Manika, south of Monomotapa. In the middle of the 16th century two more independent tribal alliances were formed in the same way: Sabia, established east of Monomotapa, between Sofala and the Sabi River, by the tribe of the chief SEDANDA, and Kitewe, founded by a chief of the same name in the coastal region adjoining Sofala.

Between these new States, as well as between each of them and Monomotapa there were frequent strifes and internecine wars which the Portuguese later endeavoured to exploit in the interest of their plans of conquest.

¹ SCHURTZ, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

² See the map in CARL PETERS, *Im Goldland des Altertums* (Munich, 1902).

The Tonga

Besides these more or less strong tribal alliances in these parts of Southeast Africa — on the northeast in the regions bordering upon the south bank of the lower course of the Zambezi, and on the southeast between the Sabi and Limpopo Rivers (in today's Inhambane and Gazaland) — there also lived several small Southern Bantu tribes, akin to the Zulus who had gone farther southward. The most significant among them were the *Tonga* tribes.

Portuguese Conquests on the East African Coast in the Early 16th Century

On the basis of what VASCO DE GAMA had reported, the Portuguese government decided to establish ports and trading stations on the eastern littoral. These were intended to ensure the unhampered passage of the ships bound for India via the Cape of Good Hope (calling at the East African ports) and to trade with the interior of Southeast Africa (Monomotapa).

A fleet under the command of PEDRO ÁLVARES CABRAL was sent out as early as 1500, but it did not achieve anything. In 1502 VASCO DE GAMA occupied Kilwa and made its Arab ruler tributary to the Portuguese. In 1503 the Portuguese established their first trading post in Mozambique (on the mainland). In the same year they took possession of the island of Zanzibar.

In 1505 the Portuguese government changed its modest plan of founding a few forts and trading centres into an over-all attack upon the Arab possessions in East Africa. It decided to seize by force all Arab ports and cities and to establish a large Portuguese colony. Steps were taken immediately to carry out this plan. It was still in the same year 1505 that PEDRO DE ANHAYA definitely seized Sofala, which was at once made into the fortified centre of the Portuguese colony, and another Portuguese agent, ANTONIO DA CAMPO, discovered Delagoa Bay. In 1506 the troops of FRANCISCO DE ALMEIDA captured Kilwa and the surrounding Arab settlements and demolished Mombasa. In 1507 TRISTAN DA CUNHA occupied and fortified Mozambique Island.

The Portuguese conquests provoked desperate resistance on the part of the Arab colonists. A war of many years was carried on with varying success (for example, Kilwa was recaptured by the Arabs in 1512), but technical superiority secured the Portuguese the final victory. By 1520 the Portuguese firmly held every major port and settlement on the southeast coast (south of the Ruvuma River: Delagoa Bay, Sofala, Quelimane, Sena, Mozambique), and they even occupied the entire east coast (Kilwa, Zanzibar, Pemba, Mombasa, Malindi, Lamu, Brava, Mogadishu).

Thus being in possession of the entire southeast and east coast, the Portuguese started a large-scale colonial traffic, mainly, in gold on the south and in slaves on the north. Sofala and Mozambique were the centres of the golden trade. Over a million metkals¹ of gold was exported a year. In 1544 another big trading post was set up at Quelimane. The centres of the slave trade were at Kilwa and Zanzibar. The Portuguese made large profits by levying taxes upon the occupied Arab settlements and trading stations.

Besides their commercial activities, the Portuguese did not neglect the further exploration of the coastal region either. Thus, the Portuguese merchant LOURENÇO MARQUES in the 1540's explored the region of Delagoa Bay.

¹ One metkal was equivalent to about 4.5 grams.

Portuguese Expeditions into Monomotapa

After settling down at various points of the coast, the Portuguese heard much about a powerful African country farther inland, Monomotapa, and particularly about its rich, gold-mining province, Manika, and decided to conquer it.

At first they made several attempts to approach Monomotapa from the south, sending expeditions from Sofala towards the northeast (approximately along the road where now the railway runs from Beira into Southern Rhodesia). These attempts failed because of the strong opposition of the peoples inhabiting that region.

Then the Portuguese tried to intrude from the north, by way of Sena. In 1569 a strong expedition (over 500 infantrymen, with cavalry, camels and six cannons) set out along this route under the governor of Mozambique, General FRANCISCO BARRETO, and the Jesuit priest MONCLAROS. Arriving at Sena, the expedition clashed with the local Arabs, whom the Portuguese (through ignorance or with intent to provoke them, we cannot know) accused of having poisoned the horses and camels of the expedition. (In fact, the animals perished from the bite of the tsetse fly.) Having learned that Monomotapa was at war with the Mongase tribe (which lived northwest of Sena, between Sena and Tete), BARRETO decided to occupy Monomotapa by resorting to the tested method of Portuguese conquerors — with “friendship” instead of enmity. From Sena he sent his emissaries to the Makalanga “king” with an offer of assistance against the Mangase. The offer was accepted, and the expedition set off along the right bank of the Zambezi, but met with obstinate resistance from the local tribes. Incessant attacks from the African tribes, diseases making havoc among the soldiers and animals, and the lack of provisions compelled the expedition to withdraw to Sena with severe losses.

A second attempt was halted when news came of an uprising in Mozambique. BARRETO and MONCLAROS had to return immediately to Mozambique to crush the revolt. The expedition remained in Sena. The two leaders subsequently went back to Sena, but soon afterwards BARRETO died. Then the expedition returned to Mozambique.

Still another attempt was made to reach Monomotapa from the south, by way of Sofala, but it also proved a failure. After this, wars with the Mazimba and the conflict with Turkey compelled the Portuguese to renounce their plans of conquering Monomotapa.

Thus it was that the attempted Portuguese campaigns of conquest into the interior of Southeast Africa were frustrated by the heroic resistance and defensive struggle of the African peoples.

Wars of Liberation of the Mazimba and Other Tribes of Southeast Africa against the Portuguese. Portuguese-Turkish War for the East African Coast

In 1572 several tribes of Southeast Africa, led by the Mazimba, launched systematic campaigns against the Arab and Portuguese cities and settlements to liberate the country from the alien usurpers. In the course of 20 years (1572–92) they scored a number of brilliant victories. In the beginning they engaged in many fierce battles with the Portuguese and inflicted upon them serious losses in the interior areas (in the outlying districts of the Monomotapa empire, in the hinterland of Mozambique and Kilwa, in the region of Tete). By the early eighties of the 16th century, owing

to incessant attacks from these tribes, Portugal's entire domination over Southeast Africa was at stake.

This embarrassing position of the Portuguese was exploited by a new pretender to the East African littoral — the Ottoman empire. After conquering Egypt, the Turkish sultans were dreaming of seizing the East African Arab and Portuguese possessions. In 1584, thinking it was time to take action, the Turkish sultan sent to the East African coast a powerful fleet under the command of the corsair MIRALE BEKVE to occupy the coast lands. The MIRALE expedition, descending the coast, pretended that it would “liberate” the Moslem Arabs from the Portuguese yoke. In 1584–85, with the assistance of the local Arab population, the expedition captured several coastal cities (Faza, Lamu, Mombasa). After consolidating there the power of the Turkish sultan, MIRALE returned with his fleet and a rich booty to the Red Sea.

Right after the departure of MIRALE, the Portuguese recaptured Mombasa and cruelly retaliated upon the Moslem population. In 1588, however, MIRALE came back again and occupied the northern part of the east coast for a second time and even built a fortress at Mombasa.

While the Portuguese were engaged in military operations on the coast against the Turks, the Mazimba and other tribes of the interior continued their struggle for liberation and victoriously marched ahead towards the littoral. In 1586 they took Kilwa and Kisiwani, and in 1589 laid siege to Mombasa, which at this time was already in the hands of MIRALE.

Then the Portuguese made use of the new situation and, when the Turks had difficulties in resisting the Mazimba attack from the mainland, led an assault upon Mombasa from the sea. MIRALE, caught between two fires, preferred to surrender to the Portuguese and join forces with them. Thus the Turko-Portuguese competition was settled in favour of the Portuguese.

Despite the unification of Portuguese and Turkish forces, Mombasa fell under the pressure of the Mazimba. The city was captured and looted. But soon after this, the Portuguese, having received strong reinforcements, inflicted upon the Mazimba a decisive defeat near Malindi, upon which the Mazimba had to withdraw into their country.

In the interior regions the struggle continued for a while. Thus, for example, near Tete the insurgents in 1591 captured and killed the commander of Sena, Captain ANDRÉ DE SANTIAGO, with his 300 soldiers.

By the end of the 16th century, obviously as a result of increased Portuguese military efforts, the attacks from African tribes virtually stopped. At least, nothing is known of further actions on their part after 1592, and even the subsequent fate of the Mazimba people, as we have seen above, is shrouded in haze.

The Portuguese Regime in the 17th Century and the Portuguese-Dutch Rivalry for the Southeast Coast

By the end of the 16th century, after the failure of the attempts made by the Ottoman empire and after the termination of the systematic struggle waged against the local tribes, Portugal again became exclusive master of the eastern littoral. New attacks on the part of the African peoples were not to be feared for the time being, since about 1600 Monomotapa broke up into several “States” whose peoples were engaged in civil wars. And if, in spite of this, the Portuguese did not resume their

plans of conquering the inland areas, it was because already in the first few years of the 17th century a new pretender appeared on the East African coast—this time in the person of a much more dangerous European competitor, the Dutch.

As early as about 1600 certain Portuguese possessions were seized by Dutch pirates, and in 1604–07 the Portuguese had to repel several serious attempts of the Dutch; this is why they had to establish their colonies on the southeast coast and to occupy Mozambique by force of arms. After this, in the first half of the 17th century, there was no more direct attack upon the Portuguese possessions on the east coast. But in many other regions of Africa other European powers became increasingly active in the line of colonial conquest. In West Africa appeared the Dutch, British and French, on Madagascar the British and Dutch, on the island of Mauritius the Dutch, on the island of Bourbon (Réunion) the French, at the Cape of Good Hope the British and the Dutch. They made armed attacks upon the Portuguese possessions in several places (the Dutch on the Gold Coast and in Angola, the British in Gambia). All this compelled the Portuguese to renounce the idea of expanding their African possessions and to content themselves with consolidating their rule in the already conquered places and regions.

Already in 1609 Portugal's East African possessions were made into a separate colony with a governor (and a "Bishop") of its own, as distinct from the possessions in the Indies. (Formerly they had been administered as part of the Portuguese possessions in India.) In the first half of the 17th century Portuguese colonial activities consisted mainly in the delivery of gold and in unsuccessful searching for reported silver mines by sending a number of expeditions into the regions lying south of the Zambezi. In 1645 the colony was given a new "economic" task: as a result of difficulties in supplying slaves from Angola (owing to the war that was going on there with the Dutch) Mozambique was made into the main base of Portuguese slave trade.

But as soon as the Portuguese began this new profitable business in Mozambique, new competitors made their appearance. In 1649 the British appeared on the southeast coast, and in 1662 again the Dutch made an armed attack upon Mozambique with a view to occupying it, but without success.

Struggle with the Arabs. Expulsion of the Portuguese from the Northern Part of the East-African Coast

Afterwards the internecine struggle of the European powers on the southeast coast stopped for a few decades. (It was resumed later, around Lourenço Marques, in the 1820's.) The Portuguese possession in this period ceased to attract other powers, since from the middle of the 17th century the Arabs, who did not renounce their former possessions seized by the Portuguese, began disputing the dominion of the east coast with the Portuguese and, actually, with all other European nations.

The struggle was led by the Imam of Muscat. After a fight of many years, in 1698, the Portuguese lost all their forts north of Mozambique. But this did not put an end to the struggle. The Portuguese succeeded in gaining temporary victories, but the final victors in this struggle which, with some interruptions, lasted for a full century, remained the Arabs. By virtue of the treaty concluded with the Imam of Muscat in 1752, the Portuguese definitely gave up their stations on the entire coast north of Cape Delgado, though they were at the same time confirmed in their positions in Mozambique, on the Sena (Zambezi) River and in the coastal and interior regions between Cape Delgado and Delagoa Bay.

The Portuguese Colony in Southeast Africa and the Power Struggle for Delagoa Bay in the 18th Century

At the close of the 17th century, after the slave-trading centres on the east coast had been lost and Portuguese domination over Angola restored, the significance of Portugal's East African colony as a base of the slave trade diminished considerably, but increased further in respect of the traffic in gold and other products of the interior regions. In 1687 traders from India established themselves in Mozambique. The freedom of trade in the colony was introduced for the Portuguese, but not for any other foreigners. This gave rise to frequent conflicts with the French and Dutch merchants who wanted to have a share in East African trade.

At the end of the 17th century the Portuguese attempted to widen their possessions towards the south, establishing the trading centre Lourenço Marques in Delagoa Bay. But things first went amiss, and the Portuguese soon liquidated their station. Then, in 1721, the Dutch appeared in the bay and built a factory and fort at Lourenço Marques which, however, was destroyed by the British in 1727. Yet the Dutch did not leave. The next year the Dutch garrison at Lourenço Marques revolted. Following this, the Dutch colony survived for another six years, being abandoned at last in 1734.

The Portuguese, although formally retaining their right to Lourenço Marques, did not occupy it until 1776. In that year appeared in Delagoa Bay the expedition of a newly formed Austrian trading company, consisting of Austrians and Italians, headed by the Englishman WALTON who was in Austrian service. They began to conclude treaties on territorial concession with the local African chiefs and to organize settlements. Portugal then lodged several protests with the Austrian government, but the conflict came to an end unexpectedly, for almost every member of the Austrian expedition suddenly died of fever.¹

Upon this, to uphold her rights, Portugal again founded a trading post at Lourenço Marques and appointed a military commandant to head it.

In the middle of the 18th century, in Mozambique and other possessions of theirs in the interior, the Portuguese again met with the resistance of the local tribes, especially the Makwa who, in reply to the outrageous attitude of Portuguese officials, rose in revolt. In 1740 and the following years the Portuguese, under pressure from the insurgents, were compelled to evacuate several forts and factories on the Zambezi and in Manicaland. The African tribes several times assaulted and even very nearly captured Mozambique Island, while the forts on the mainland opposite Mozambique Island were occupied and held for a time by the Makwa.

Around the middle of the 18th century a new element appeared in Mozambique: Portuguese convicts were regularly sent there to populate the colony.

East Africa under the Rule of Muscat

After the Portuguese had been expelled definitively from the East African coast north of the Ruvuma River (1740), this territory was for over a century again under the rule of Arabs, the Imam of Muscat and his successors. This second period of Arab

¹ See ALFRED VON ARNETH, *Geschichte Maria Theresias*, 10 vols. (Vienna, 1863–79), vol. ix, p. 469 ff.; ADOLPH BEER, *Die österreichische Handelspolitik unter Maria Theresia und Joseph II.* (in "Archiv für österreichische Geschichte", vol. 86, Vienna, 1898).

domination over East Africa was by no means a period of peace and calm. It was a century of incessant struggles either between the various sultanates, or between the imams residing in Arabia and their African vicegerents, or between the Arabian sovereign and the local Arab colonists who fought for the East African settlements, independence from Muscat. But the peoples of the interior of East Africa were only very little affected by these incessant wars, for all Arab possessions in East Africa were almost exclusively seaports and coastal settlements.

The Eastern Sudan in the 16th to 18th Centuries

The north portion of the Eastern Sudan, the territory of the ancient State of Nubia, throughout the 16th to 18th centuries remained as it had been in previous centuries — a country split up into a multitude of small Arab sheikhdoms. In the Nile basin between Dongola and Sennar there were about twenty such small "States" under the rule of their own "sultans", "sheikhs", and *meliks*. With Arabs as the ruling element everywhere, the masses of the population in these sheikhdoms were, on the one hand, nomadic cattle-raising Arab tribes and, on the other, mostly nomadic Hamitic tribes — the *Barabra* (Nubians) and the *Beja* (Bisharin, Hadendoa, Beni, Amer). Both of these groups of tribes (Barabra and Beja) have been to a certain extent Arabicized, as they all have long been Moslems. The struggle between the small Arab States was almost uninterrupted. But they made wars not for the sake of conquests, but in order to make one another tributary.

One of the strongest Arab tribes that achieved great might in the 16th century was the *Shaikia* tribe. It differed from the others in that all the men in the tribe did regular military service. The *Shaikia* also had Moslem schools of their own.

In the northern part of the Eastern Sudan (territory of the ancient Meroe State), as is known, there arose already in former times the Moslem Arab State of *Sennar*. At the dawn of the 16th century (1504) it was conquered by the Sudanese *Funj* tribe. The *Funj* embraced Islam, but they reorganized the State to their own liking. They were an agricultural people and possessed fine weapons. BRUCE,¹ who visited them in 1773, was delighted at the orderliness of their camps, their superb horses and the weapons of their warriors consisting of large, broad swords in red leather sheaths, steel chain armours and copper helmets. In the outlying areas of their country they established military frontier zones and peopled them with soldiers who also cultivated the lands there.

Thanks to their good organization, the *Funj* were able to hold their ground in *Sennar* for three centuries, and in the 16th century they even subjugated, in some form, the neighbouring tribes and chiefdoms as far as Nubia on the north, Darfur on the west and Fazogl on the south (on the Blue Nile), including even the State of Kordofan (bordering upon *Sennar* on the west), the majority of whose population were Sudanese tribes (Nubians and others) akin to the *Funj*. The *Funj* "conquests", however, were limited to the levying of regular taxes upon the subjugated tribes and countries.

At the beginning of the 17th century the power of *Sennar* was shaken considerably. About 1620 it had to face an attack from the Negus SOCINIOS of Ethiopia. Several districts of the country were destroyed and looted. Soon afterwards the country was subjugated by the sultan of Darfur, SOLEMAN SOLON, and, together with Kordofan,

¹ See p. 166.

became his tributary. It did not take long, however, for the country to regain strength and restore its independence from Darfur, which had been weakened in continuous wars with Wadai.

In the thirties of the 18th century, Ethiopia under the Negus YASU II made another attack upon *Sennar*, but this time the Ethiopians were completely defeated: YASU's army of 18,000 was annihilated, as it were, to the last men.

In 1770 *Sennar* recaptured Kordofan from Darfur. After this Sultan TIRAB of Darfur, as we know, conducted several campaigns against *Sennar* to reconquer Kordofan, but without success.¹

During this entire period the *Nilotic tribes* were invariably exposed to assaults from Egyptian and Arab slave traders. Nevertheless, they surrendered neither to Egyptian nor to Arab influence and preserved their independence. In their endeavours to escape the attacking aliens, many of their tribes had to be constantly on the move. For example, the *Shilluks*, who through the late 15th and early 16th centuries lived north of Fashoda in the regions bordering upon *Sennar* (where, as we have seen, they were in alliance with the *Funj*²) migrated to their present place of residence early in the 17th century, occupying a strip about 15 to 20 kilometres wide and over 600 kilometres long on the left bank of the White Nile, south of Fashoda, as well as the regions adjoining left bank of the Sobat River; besides, *Shilluk* colonies were established in many other neighbouring and even remoter regions. In fact, a number of tribes bearing at present different names (e.g., *Niwak*, *Luo* or *Jur*, *Shefalu*, *Bondiak*, *Jibba*, etc.) were such *Shilluk* colonists.

This kind of migration, of course, could not have taken place without clashes between the *Nilotic tribes* themselves. There were particularly frequent conflicts among those tribes which had no over-all unified organization, for instance, the *Dinka*.

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¹ See p. 132.

² See p. 56.

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CHAPTER V

ETHIOPIA

Ethiopia in the Early 16th Century

Feudalistic Ethiopia was no homogeneous country. It consisted of various domains ruled by local magnates (*rases*) who were nominally dependent on the negus. In fact, the local *rases*' dependence upon the negus was for the most part rather loose, since they generally refused to obey the negus.

This feudal disruption of the country was fraught with serious consequences. It resulted, on the one hand, in eternal internecine struggles between the local lords and, on the other, in constant wars of the negus himself against his refractory vassals.

Suffering most of all from these wars were the popular masses, the peasantry which was anyway exhausted with feudal exploitation and was compelled to shed its own blood under the banners of its overlords and even to feed their troops.

Another scourge imposed upon the peoples of Ethiopia were the almost permanent wars with foreign countries. The wars against the "Moslems" that had begun in the 14th century, becoming almost uninterrupted from the mid-15th century, became still more embittered in the 16th, since the Moslem sheikhdoms of East Africa found a new, strong ally in the Ottoman empire. Having conquered Egypt (1517), the rulers of the Ottoman empire were framing further plans of conquest in Africa, setting themselves the aim of occupying "Christian" Ethiopia and colonizing the country with "Moslem" Somalis. This led to new Ethiopian-Moslem wars, which lasted for several decades. These wars made the country still weaker and led to the strengthening of the feudal lords. Badly needing the military support of his vassals, the negus, to secure their assistance, saw fit to yield to their aspirations for independence.

Besides, the new wars with the Moslems brought Ethiopia two more fatal consequences:

1. The hope for strong Turkish and Egyptian allies encouraged both the Moslem sheikhdoms and the coastal tribes (mainly Somalis) to make war on Ethiopia. This hope rallied also the numerically superior pagan Hamitic tribes of Ethiopia itself and the adjacent regions, the Gallas. Ethiopia had to fight on several fronts simultaneously.

2. On the other hand, this extremely grave situation compelled the rulers of Ethiopia to look for a powerful ally and, consequently, to admit to the country the Portuguese who offered them help against the Moslems.

Portuguese Penetration into Ethiopia

As we have seen, Ethiopia already in the 15th century was almost constantly at war with the Moslems, the king of Adel among them, and the Portuguese COVILHAM came into Ethiopia at the very end of the 15th century. Although, according to the law of the country, he was delayed there as prisoner, he still enjoyed respect and full freedom and was even allowed to send reports to Portugal.

In the course of time he came to exercise a great influence upon the rulers of the country and succeeded in persuading them to send to Portugal a special Ethiopian "mission" with a proposal for a military alliance against the Moslems. This mission left in 1507 (by way of India!) and arrived in Portugal after many vicissitudes in 1513. In 1520 at last a Portuguese mission went to Ethiopia. Alliance was concluded in principle, and after a stay of five years in Ethiopia the Portuguese emissary returned to bring help from Portugal to realize the agreement. He was accompanied by an Ethiopian monk in the capacity of representative of Ethiopia. But neither the king of Portugal nor the Ethiopian monk was particularly in a hurry, the help did not come, and in the meantime dreadful events took place in Ethiopia.

Ethiopia at War with the Alliance of Moslem Peoples. Attack of the Gallas

From 1526 onwards Ethiopia was a target of attacks on the part of an alliance of Moslem tribes (chiefly the Somalis) led by AHMED-BIN-IBRAHIM (nicknamed "GRANYE") who had the backing of Egypt and Turkey, and also on the part of the Galla tribes. Acting in concert with them was also the king of Adel.

In spite of his heroic efforts, the Ethiopian Negus DAVID III (1508—40) suffered defeat after defeat. In 1532 he sent another ambassador to Portugal to beg for assistance: a Portuguese adventurer doctor, who had come to Ethiopia with the Portuguese mission in 1520 and remained there to become "Patriarch of Ethiopia". But the help still did not come, any more so because the "patriarch" went first by way of Egypt to Rome, where he spent a considerable time, being engaged in soliciting the pope for confirmation of his appointment as "Patriarch of Ethiopia".

The help came at last, in the form of a Portuguese fleet under the command of CHRISTOFORO DE GAMA (grandson of VASCO DE GAMA), in 1541, that is, sixteen years after the return of the Portuguese mission and one year after the death of the Negus DAVID who, according to Ethiopic chronicles, died "roaming about the deserts of his devastated country."

DAVID's son, CLAUDIUS (1540—59), continued the struggle with determination. The Portuguese fleet was destroyed by GRANYE. GAMA himself was killed in action, but, with the assistance of the remaining Portuguese, CLAUDIUS succeeded in defeating GRANYE in 1542. GRANYE himself was killed.

But this did not mean the end of the struggle. The Moslem tribes again gathered their forces, and in the fifties the war started anew. In 1559 CLAUDIUS was killed on the battlefield.

The war continued into the reign of the succeeding neguses, MENAS (1559—63) and SEBETSA-DENGEL (1563—95). The latter succeeded at last in delivering the country from foreign attacks for a long time, after many battles with the Somalis and Gallas (who had renewed their attacks in 1569), with Adel and the Turks.

Ethiopia in the Power of Jesuits. Expulsion of Jesuits and Portuguese

Jesuit priests made their appearance in Ethiopia in the wake of the Portuguese "help" as early as 1554. Their inflow was increasing after the termination of the foreign wars, and they acquired great influence. An especially important role was played by the Portuguese Jesuit PAEZ. The Negus SISSINIUS (1607—32) fell completely under his influence, became converted to the Roman faith and opened the doors wide before the agents of the Roman Church and Portugal.

This provoked indignation and riots all over the country. The discontented were led by the son of the negus, VASILID, who compelled SISSINIUS to restore the Orthodox religion and abdicate the crown.

After acceding to the throne, VASILID pursued a consistently anti-Catholic and anti-Portuguese policy. To begin with, he expelled the Jesuits and the other Catholic missionaries, and during the thirty-three years of his reign (1632—65) he totally purged the country from the Portuguese.

Feudal Disintegration of Ethiopia

With the expulsion of the Portuguese, the isolation of Ethiopia from the outside world was almost total again. During the subsequent one and a half centuries the history of Ethiopia was that of trivial internecine struggles of feudal lords with one another and against refractory tribes. In this epoch the religious strifes between various groups of the Ethiopian clergy and monks were sometimes overwhelming in the domestic disturbances.

Meanwhile the whole country began to split up into different independent feudal provinces (Shoa, Tigré, Amhara, etc). The "Negus of Ethiopia" with his central power was in fact only a principal feudal lord whose supreme power was far from recognized by all the others. In the 18th century the supreme power fell apart in a peculiar way, showing some similarity with the shogunate in Japan: the actual ruler was one or another of the most powerful rases, while the power of the negus, a puppet of that ras, was purely nominal.

On the other hand, great changes took place in the situation of the non-Amharic peoples of Ethiopia — the Gallas and Somalis — and in their relations to the Amharas and the Ethiopian State.

When the Galla attack upon Ethiopia in the second half of the 16th century was repelled, a long period of calm set in. It was only a century later, in 1683—84, in the reign of YASU II, that Ethiopia had again a few clashes with the Gallas who, this time, suffered heavy losses.

In the 18th century the development of the Galla tribes and their relations to the Amharas took a different course, mainly as a consequence of two circumstances.

The nomadic Galla tribes had begun settling down in the 17th century. This process accelerated considerably towards the end of the century and particularly early in the 18th century. An ever growing number of nomadic tribes switched to agriculture. They adopted the agrarian methods of their masters in agriculture, the Amharas, and were absorbed by the Ethiopian feudal system. This meant that the Galla tribal chiefs gradually turned into feudal landlords, and the most of their tribesmen became peasant serfs. A certain rapprochement took place between the Amharic nobility and the feudal Galla leaders, the more so because the neguses themselves encouraged this process, hoping that they would acquire in the newly-made Galla

feudal lords fresh supporters of their struggle against the powerful separatist seigniors. In the middle of the 18th century Galla feudal lords could be found among the courtiers and high-ranking generals of the negus.

Another circumstance conducive to the termination of struggles between Gallas and Amharas and to their rapprochement was the intensifying enmity between Gallas and Somalis. After the defeat of the "Moslem alliance" in the war with Ethiopia, this centuries-old struggle terminated for good and all. The Ottoman empire, which had entered its period of decline in the 17th century, had to drop its plans of conquering Ethiopia definitively. Ethiopia, on the other hand, trying to get rid of the Portuguese and Jesuits, and later struggling against pretenders to the throne of the negus, or engaged in internecine wars between feudal lords or again in religious strifes, could not even think of pursuing her conquests in the east, in the territories of the still independent Somali tribes, nor of consolidating her supreme power over the formerly subjugated tribes. The Somali tribes, left alone by Ethiopia and developing their peaceful contacts and commercial ties with the Arabs of the Gulf of Aden, growing in numbers and augmenting their animal stock, were increasingly pressing the neighbouring nomadic Galla tribes and drove them off their pastures towards the west and northwest.

The First Steps of Britain and France in Ethiopia

After the expulsion of the Portuguese, the first serious attempt to come into contact with Ethiopia was made by the French at the close of the 17th century. Negus YASU I, being seriously ill, invited a French physician from Cairo, PONCET, who arrived with his expedition in Ethiopia in 1699 and spent a few months there.

A few years later the French sent out another expedition, under their consul, DU ROUL, this time on a diplomatic mission. This mission failed, however, and DU ROUL was killed in Sennar.

In the middle of the 18th century French monks tried to enter into Ethiopia but were expelled by the Negus YASU II. More successful were the first attempts of Great Britain: In 1769 a Scotsman, JAMES BRUCE, was commissioned by the British government to go to Ethiopia, where he spent more than two years. He familiarized himself thoroughly with the entire country and its history, and carried on geographical explorations (he discovered the sources of the Blue Nile).

Upon his return to Britain BRUCE published the account of his explorations in a five-volume work,¹ which in 1790 appeared also in French translation. BRUCE's book was the first to give the Europeans a somewhat clear and proper idea of Ethiopia, her peoples and her history. The result was that the whole world began to show keen interest in this country. Nevertheless, until the beginning of the 19th century no more attempts were made by European powers to penetrate into Ethiopia.

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CHARACTERISTICS OF PORTUGUESE COLONIZATION IN THE
16TH TO 18TH CENTURIES

As we have seen, the Portuguese pursued different purposes in all three regions of their intrusions. In the Congo it was the slave trade. On the east coast they were in search of gold and undertook to set up provision depots and military bases to service their ships and protect the sea route to India. In Ethiopia they had, above all, military-strategic aims, trying to secure an ally in the contest with the Ottoman empire. Yet, the main motive force of all Portuguese colonizing activities in Africa was the slave trade. This is evident from the sole fact that, in view of the difficulties they had in Angola with respect to the slave trade, they were not long in turning their East-African possession, where the human traffic had till then been of secondary importance, into their primary slave-trading colony.

Beside the slave trade, the Portuguese were engaged in attempts to expand their colonies, first of all, in quest of new gold mines. We can find evidence of such attempts in the fact that from time to time they sent expeditions into the interior of West Equatorial and Southeast Africa to explore new areas. These expeditions, however, yielded no practical results in this respect.

Finally, there were also attempts on the part of the Portuguese to settle colonists in their African possessions.

The literature on the history of Portuguese colonization in Africa (and not only Portuguese works, but also books written by other, particularly English, authors) is singing praises to the Portuguese for their allegedly historic merits in introducing a range of useful plants into Africa. There is a little bit of truth in this, indeed. But historians certainly exaggerate the merits of the Portuguese beyond measure. The fact is that the Portuguese are credited for many things that were actually done by Arabs.

Portuguese colonization in this period had the following characteristics:

(a) utilization of the technical superiority of European weapons for easy successes by rendering some military assistance to one or another African people in its struggle with others, in order to make the given people, in compensation for the service done, submit to the Portuguese influence;

(b) utilization of the superstitiousness of primitive African peoples by stupefying them with the Christian religion as preached by their missionaries;

(c) large-scale utilization of African intermediaries in the slave trade — and in any kind of trade.

One of the main features of Portuguese colonialism in this epoch lay in the fact that, in contradistinction to Holland, Britain and France, the Portuguese State — the king of Portugal and his government — played an active part in colonial affairs

right from the beginning and during this entire period. Portugal preceded all other countries (already in the former epoch¹) in the practice of granting individuals and companies monopolistic rights and privileges for African trade. But beside such privileged persons and companies, the government itself was engaged in organizing expeditions of conquest and colonization. Even the great discoveries of the 15th century were made by expeditions sponsored and financed by the government. The most important colonial undertakings of the 16th to 18th centuries (colonial wars, expeditions, establishment of new colonies) were also carried out at the expense of the government (troops; colonial administrators; expeditions of military agents in command of warships, etc.).

This circumstance resulted in the following:

(a) The changes that, in the course of time, occurred in the nature of the slave trade on an all-African scale (the three phases!) were manifest in the regions of Portuguese intrusion only to a small extent. The African trade of the Portuguese on the whole was, from the beginning and throughout this period, monopolistic and mainly State monopoly at that. The changes in the nature of the trading activities of other States (the founding of companies and later the institution of free trade) made themselves felt in the regions of the Portuguese invasion only in the form of strifes with other colonizers.

(b) Considering themselves to be the only rightful monopolists of the African trade (on the basis of the papal edict of 1442!), the Portuguese government and the trading companies approved by it did not recognize any competitors, either Portuguese or other, and disputed the freedom of the African trade practically all the time.

(c) The third result of the leading role of the State in the African trade of the Portuguese was their extreme rigidity and slowness in conducting expeditions, military campaigns and other colonial undertakings.

The circumspect policy of the Portuguese in relation to the African peoples enabled them almost everywhere² to achieve some *temporary* successes (in the way of bloodless conquests). By securing the military collaboration of the African population and converting many aborigines to Christianity, they succeeded first in sowing dissension among the African peoples or even in intensifying the conflicting passions existing between different tribes, and then in letting them weaken in internecine wars. In the beginning certain tribes, seeing useful allies in the Portuguese, did not oppose their influence and made it possible for them (through the slave trade, the export of gold, etc.) to resort to the aid of Africans in attacking or subjugating other peoples.

But in time the intrigues of the Portuguese, their predatory activities as slave traders, their greediness and cruelty, induced the African peoples everywhere to join forces in a common fight to expel the Portuguese. This fight was fought in different forms in the different countries and in different periods: either in the form of open wars and uprisings (especially in Angola and on the eastern littoral), or in the form of sabotaging the Portuguese demands and of clever manoeuvres contrived to get rid of the aliens (the Congo, Ethiopia). The commonest form (as applied by all countries and tribes within the Portuguese sphere of influence) of the African masses' struggle against the Portuguese usurpers was opposition to Portuguese missionaries in whom the Bantu tribes, judging by their own ideas, saw men who were most

¹ See p. 105.

² Except in Angola, where from the outset they met with the determined resistance of the aborigines.

guilty of all calamities that had come upon them under the rule of the Portuguese. (They regarded the missionaries as the "wizards of the whites".)

The fight of the Portuguese against other colonizers in these regions of their principal influence differed from the power struggle in West Africa. There it was a struggle of a few European powers competing on equal footing for the African possessions, for the supply of slaves. In the three regions under discussion the Portuguese were the only European invaders from the very beginning of the 16th century. In two of these regions (Congo-Angola and the southeast coast) they succeeded in consolidating their power early in the 16th century. Their struggle there was but a defensive fight to preserve their established possessions from the attacks of other European powers. The case was different on the northern part of the east coast and in Ethiopia. True, they had no European rivals there. Instead, the Portuguese had to wage long struggles, not only with African peoples, but also with a number of Asian contestants: the Turks in Ethiopia (in the 16th century), the Arabs and the Turks on the eastern littoral.

Thus, considering the matter from an all-African angle, the Portuguese had to struggle for the preservation of their possessions simultaneously on three fronts: against Africans, against European rivals, and against the Turks and Arabs. They manoeuvred so as to play off one people against the other. Where they had business only with African peoples, they pitted them against one another. They resorted to this method also where they had to face both African and Asian adversaries. In Ethiopia they were in alliance with some Africans against others and the Turks. On the east coast, in turn, they entered into temporary alliance with the Turks against Africans. We should, however, point out one fact: nowhere did the Portuguese ever utilize African peoples as allies against their European rivals. This "new method" of colonial warfare was devised only by the British in the 19th century.

The resistance of African peoples and attacks of European competitors in West Equatorial Africa and on the southeast coast, the resistance of African peoples and the stubborn, victorious struggle of Arabs on the east coast, the hostility of the population and the determined policy of certain rulers of Ethiopia — all this made it impossible for the Portuguese to carry out their plans to expand their possessions substantially. In the course of time they were even driven out of considerable portions of territories where they seemed to have a firm foothold. In the 18th century they lost almost all of their influence over the Congo, retaining only certain regions in Angola. By the middle of the 18th century they eventually lost to the Arabs all their East African possessions north of the Ruvuma River. From Ethiopia they were definitively expelled early in the 17th century.

A study of Portuguese colonization in Africa in the 16th to 18th centuries is of great interest, above all, for the following reasons:

1. The Portuguese were the first to extend the slave trade. At the outset (16th century) they almost had the monopoly in this field, and until the end of this epoch the Portuguese slave trade (together with the British) was the most developed and most typical of all.

2. In the case of the Portuguese as the first colonizers of Africa, we can find, in an embryonic stage or in an already established form, many such methods, tricks, institutions, and even types of men, which later became traditional elements of the colonial system installed by European powers in Africa. They were the first to use, beside direct violence, also frauds and diplomatic intrigues. We find there embryonic forms of the three future prototypes of colonial subjugation: "colonies" (the southeast coast), "protectorates" (the Congo in the 16th, Angola in the 17th and 18th centuries)

and "semicolonies" (Ethiopia¹). They were the first to employ missionaries, colonial administrators in the pay of the State, as well as European colonists. Therefore, the study of Portuguese colonization in the 16th to 18th centuries gives us great help to understand the subsequent history of the colonization of Africa.

3. From among all the colonizers of Africa in this epoch (particularly in the 16th and 17th centuries) the Portuguese came closest to the life of African peoples, and they were the only ones to come into close contact with the *Bantu* peoples (all three groups of them!) already in this period. This is why the study of their colonizing activities in this period can provide most for researchers of the early relations of African peoples with the Europeans (the reaction of African tribes to the alien intrusion and methods of colonization; the attitude of Africans towards the conquerors, colonists, missionaries; the development of their resistance and liberation struggle, etc.), as well as for those who study the effects of the European intrusion (and the slave trade!) upon the socio-economic and political development of the African peoples (destruction of the domestic economy in the wake of the European intrusion; development of slavery and the slave trade among the African peoples under the European influence; formation of the stratum of African trading intermediaries, etc.).

4. While studying the history of Portuguese colonization we find the greatest number of documents to denounce the distortions and legends spread throughout the literature on African history in this period (the stories about the "civilizing role" of the European colonizers as "vehicles of culture" in Africa; the historical lies about the Jagga, Galla and other peoples, about the motives of the wars with Arabs, Turks and Somalis, etc.).

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¹ This was, of course, a case rather of Portuguese *plans* than of accomplished colonization in Ethiopia.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN COAST

The Peoples of South Africa in the 16th to 18th Centuries

The Portuguese who discovered South Africa, and the other Europeans (Dutch, English) who came after them, found in the coast regions of the southern extremity of the continent the two most backward ethnic groups: the *Saan* and the *Khoi-Khoi*. In the 16th century and up to the middle of the 17th, these tribes had occasional clashes with the newcomers, but their primitive mode of life did not undergo any substantial changes. From the middle of the 17th century, however, when European colonization began, these skirmishes became systematic, and through the second half of the century and the entire 18th century they led to consequences that spelt catastrophe to these weak and backward tribes: they were in part exterminated, in part driven towards the west and north, and in part (the *Khoi-Khoi*) subdued and enslaved.

But the *Khoi-Khoi* and *Saan* tribes were not the only peoples living in South Africa in the 16th to 18th centuries. The northern and eastern regions of South Africa, farther from the Cape of Good Hope, were inhabited by *Bantu* tribes that had migrated there from the northeast during previous centuries.

British and Boer bourgeois historians, trying to excuse what their nations perpetrated in South Africa, persistently argue that the *Bantu* peoples did not come to the south until the 18th century, meaning that the *Bantus* came after the Boers and simultaneously with the British. From this they would infer that, consequently, the wars of the Boers and the British with these peoples were not predatory colonial wars aimed at plundering and oppressing the backward, weak African peoples, but wars between conquerors rivalling for the possession of territories that were "alien property" to both sides.

These are hypocritical and mendacious arguments. The *Bantu* peoples lived in South Africa (south of the Zambezi) centuries before the appearance of the first "whites" in South Africa (or even at the Cape of Good Hope). True, they did not inhabit the Cape itself. That territory belonged to the *Khoi-Khoi* and the *Saan*. But much of the present-day Republic of South Africa, and even of its Cape province, long before the coming of Europeans, was *Bantu* territory. At any rate, it is an established and unquestionable fact that in the 17th century, when Cape Colony was founded, all of South Africa north and east of the *Saan* and *Khoi-Khoi* territories was in the hands of *Bantu* tribes.

The areas immediately adjoining the *Khoi-Khoi* territories on the east were inhabited by tribes of the *Xhosa* group. The territory of present-day Natal and the coast region bordering upon it on the north (the southern part of today's Mozambique) were the homeland of the *Zulu* tribes. As we have seen, the northeastern part of

South Africa, between the Limpopo and Zambezi Rivers (present-day Southern Rhodesia and the southern half of Mozambique) was also inhabited by Southern *Bantus*: the *Shona* tribes¹. A large territory between the middle course of the Orange River and the Zambezi was scarcely populated by tribes of the *Bechuana* group. Finally, in the north of today's Southwest Africa, contiguous to Angola, also lived some (Western) *Bantu* tribes: the *Herero* and the *Ovambo*. They had come from the northeast; the *Hereros* about 1600, the *Ovambos* somewhat later, in the first half of the 17th century.²

The first two of these five groups—the *Xhosa* and the *Zulu*—in the 16th to 18th centuries were steadily advancing to the south and the west, and gradually pushed back the *Khoi-Khoi*.

Another incontestable fact is that, as we shall see later, the first encounters of the Southern *Bantu* tribes with Europeans in the 18th century took place not as the result of the *Bantu* tribes advancing to the west and the south, but because of the expansion of Cape Colony by the Europeans to the east and north.³

The First Steps of the Europeans at the Cape of Good Hope

After the Cape of Good Hope was discovered by Portuguese seafarers, Portuguese ships on their way to and from India used to call at the Cape to replenish their supplies of drinking water and provisions, especially fresh meat. To secure their supplies of fresh meat, they not only bought cattle but also captured the herds of the *Khoi-Khoi*.

These latter vigorously resisted the alien robbers. This frequently resulted in minor strifes in which the well-armed Portuguese, of course, easily defeated the *Khoi-Khoi* who were unarmed or were armed with primitive bows and arrows or javelins. The Africans, owners of the looted cattle, were killed or took to flight.

A bigger collision took place in 1510, ending in a gory defeat for the Portuguese plunderers. Returning from India, DE ALMEIDA, the Portuguese "viceroy" of India, called at Table Bay. The outrageous conduct of his men led to an armed conflict with the Africans, with the result that DE ALMEIDA himself and 75 of his retreating escort were killed by the poisoned arrows of the *Khoi-Khoi* on the banks of the Salt River.

A few years later the Portuguese robbers took a bloody revenge for their first defeat. What happened then is described in the book of the British general NAPIER, as follows:⁴

"The Portuguese, extremely mortified at this disgrace, vowed a smart revenge, which yet they seemed not to look for till two or three years after, when the fleet for the Indies anchoring again at the Cape, they found the art of cajoling the *Hottentots*; and, knowing their fondness for brass, they carried a large brass cannon ashore, under pretence of making them a present of it. This piece of artillery they had landed

¹ See p. 154.

² See V. LEBZELTER, *Die Vorgeschichte von Süd- und Südwestafrika* (Leipzig, 1930); H. VEDDER, *South West Africa in Early Times* (Oxford, 1938); I. IRLE, *Die Herero* (Gütersloh, 1906).

³ See p. 180.

⁴ We read this in NAPIER as he heard it from a certain KOLBE, a German resident of Cape Colony from 1705. See E. E. NAPIER, *Excursions in Southern Africa* (London, 1849), vol i, pp. 9–10.

with a number of heavy balls, and fastened to the mouth of it two long ropes. The Hottentots, ravished to receive such a weight of their adored metal, and being jealous of no design, laid hold of the two ropes in great numbers, as they were directed, in order to drag it along; and a great body of them being extended in two files all the length of the ropes, and standing cheek by jowl full in the range of the shot, the cannon was suddenly discharged, and a terrible slaughter made of them. Such as had escaped the shot fled up into the country in the wildest consternation, and left the Portuguese to re-embark at their leisure. And from that day to this, it seems, they have dreaded both the touch and the sight of a fire-arm."

After this the Portuguese visits and outrages did not stop, and by the end of the 16th century the Portuguese were the only callers at the Cape.

The British became interested in the Cape towards the close of the 16th century. The first Englishmen to round the Cape of Good Hope during their voyages round the world were the adventurer FRANCIS DRAKE (1580) and THOMAS CAVENDISH (1588), and the first English visitor to the Cape was JAMES LANCASTER who landed at the foot of Table Mountain in 1591. Then came a break of twenty-five years. After this the British contemplated settling at the Cape convicts who had obtained mercy or served their terms of prison. In 1615 they put ashore eight and in 1616 another three such convicts. Of the further fate of these men we know nothing.

In 1620 two ships of the British East India Company called at the Cape. ANDREW SHILLING and HUMPHREY FITZ-HERBERT, the agents of the Company, landed at Saldanha Bay, occupied it and declared it property of the king of England. But no attempt was made to take possession of the Cape effectively or to begin its colonization because later this seizure was not sanctioned by the king.

The British were followed by the Dutch. The first Dutchmen to double the Cape were a certain VAN LINSCHOTEN (aboard a Portuguese ship) in 1583 and CORNELIS HOUTMAN (sailing a Dutch vessel) in 1595 on their way from Holland to Java. In 1602 the "Dutch East India Company" was founded in Amsterdam. After unsuccessful attempts to set up stations in Mozambique as places of call for their ships on the route to and from the Indies, they decided to use for this purpose the Cape of Good Hope and the island of Mauritius. In 1631 the Dutch seized the latter and set up a revictualling station at the Cape but failed to build a garrison there. The Dutch ships also established there a sort of "post office": the ships left there, buried under big rocks (which are to this day displayed in the Museum of Capetown), written messages for other ships.

Origin of Cape Colony

In March 1647, a big ship of the Indian fleet of the Dutch East India Company, the *Haarlem*, was wrecked in the proximity of Table Bay. The crew landed and lived on the coast for about a year until they were picked up by other vessels of the Company returning from India.

Heeding the suggestions made in 1649 by LEENDERT JANSSEN, the captain of the *Haarlem*, and by JAN VAN RIEBEECK, the surgeon of one of the ships that had rescued the *Haarlem* crew, the Company in 1650 decided to set up for its ships a place of call at the Cape of Good Hope instead of the former base on St. Helena Island established a few years earlier (1645).

Preparations for an expedition had already begun when in 1651 the British seized St. Helena and fortified it. The Dutch equipped and sent out three vessels, *Goede Hoop*, *Dromedaris* and *Reiger*, under VAN RIEBEECK to establish, at the Cape of Good Hope, a permanent revictualling station for the ships of the Company.

The expedition landed in Table Bay on April 6, 1652, and proceeded to set up the colony.

The System of the Company. Development of Colonization

After setting up its colony at the Cape of Good Hope, the Company did not yet make its aim the extensive development of production or the purchase of products for export. Apart from a few desultory attempts (we know that the first export of grain to the Indies took place in 1684, and that some wine was sent to Ceylon in 1688), all the activity of the Company in South Africa for nearly half a century was limited to storing up products to supply the needs of the Company's (provision and other) depots in the port.

At first this stockpiling was based on bartering with the African tribes and on open plundering. Since the African tribes fiercely resisted and since they were not regularly engaged in farming, the Company in a few years had to contemplate the building of a stronger supply base by introducing methods of "European-style" agricultural production. To this end, the Company first dismissed part of its employees and supplied them with farming implements. Then it ensured similar arrangements to immigrants, mainly, from Holland. The colonists were allotted lands which they owned as proprietors or took on long-term lease, either in the form of "small farms" for cultivation (usually 60 morgens) or large estates for cattle-raising (usually 3,000 morgens).¹ They grew grain and wine for sale, and marketed various animal products, first of all, to the Company which took measures of compulsion to secure the lion's share of the farmers' production for its own fleets.

The number of colonists and also of farmsteads grew rapidly. In 1682, thirty years after its establishment, the colony had 663 Dutch settlers. In 1689 nearly 200 French emigrants were added to this number. In a hundred years (by 1790) the European population of the colony totalled 14,600 persons,² and the number of farmsteads was 1974. (Some of the colonists possessed two to five domains, and others even as many as thirteen.³) But, notwithstanding this vigorously growing number of farms and the fact that the French emigrants had brought with them more perfect farming methods, the development of the commodity economy was still very slow and insignificant, while the specific volume of the commodity production during the 18th century even diminished instead of increasing.

The fact is that the distribution of lands by the Company went considerably farther than originally envisaged; and it soon took a completely different character. In addition to supplying the Company with the products it needed, the rapidly developing colonial farming made it possible for it to reap substantial profits in the form of taxes and rents received for the land it had procured at almost no expense, by means of direct plundering. The Company soon began speculating in land and

¹ See H. THOMSEN, *Die Verteilung des landwirtschaftlichen Grundbesitzes in Südafrika* (Jena, 1927), p. 26. The morgen was equal to about 2 acres.

² See JOHNSTON, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-135.

³ See H. THOMSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

expanding "its territory" farther inland. In the first half of the 18th century it could do it almost unhampered, for by that time large numbers of the Khoi-Khoi tribes were exterminated by a terrible epidemic of smallpox that had broken out in 1713, and the wave of Bantu migration from the north did not yet reach the territory occupied by the Company. And in the second half of the century it continued its expansion by means of plundering campaigns. Thus the Company was able to lease ever more land to the farmers. As a result, only an insignificant (an ever decreasing) proportion of the growing number of farmers had their possessions in the coast region, and their majority cultivated land far from the coast where, because of the primitive conditions of transport, even the slightest development of the commodity and export economy was out of the question.¹

Of the grave conditions of oppression and exploitation in which the farmers found themselves under the rule of the Company, a clear picture is given in the journals of Captain Cook, who visited the country in 1772. He describes how the colonists suffered from the regime of the Company, which enforced its own laws, administered justice and meted out punishment to the colonists, and rigorously controlled their every step; how the colonists were unable to consolidate their economies because of excessive taxation and all sorts of restrictions, which reduced productivity and prevented the farmers from improving their harvests, while the officials of the Company—the Governor, the Vice-Governor, the police chief, the members of the Governor's Council of Policy and others—pocketed enormous sums of money. Cook gave as his opinion that, for the sake of the colonists and in the interest of the development of the country as a whole, it would be better for the colony to belong, not to the Company, but to the State in Holland. But, in his words, the Company found it more profitable to remain master of the land and to attach the colonists to it.

In this *Historical Geography of South Africa*,² C. P. LUCAS gives the following description of the situation of the colonists:

"... their farming was sadly restricted, and their citizenship was little more than a name. The idea was to diminish expenditure by substituting freemen for salaried servants, and by encouraging agriculture. Only married men were to be given land, the colonists were to be all of Dutch or German birth, and the grain which they grew was to be sold to the company at a fixed price. For a very short time they were permitted to buy cattle from the natives, but the permission was soon withdrawn, and with the exception that they were allowed to sell to the ships' crews such vegetables as were not required by the garrison, they were bound over to buy from and sell to the company alone. They became, in short, unpaid instead of paid servants of the company, and the advances which they received in order to enable them to start their holdings placed them in the position of debtors to hard task-masters. Under these conditions the so-called free farmers of South Africa reaped little benefit from their nominal freedom..."

"... Monopoly was the mainspring of the company, monopoly controlled the port which was the inlet and outlet of trade, and the colonists were too few to make headway against the system..."

¹C. P. LUCAS, in his book entitled *Historical Geography of South Africa* (Oxford, 1913), wrote as follows (p. 77): "The farmers... sent, it is true, their grain and their wine to the fort and to the storehouses of the company; but distances were great and roads were few: further and further they went from the sea: weaker and weaker became the link between the town at Table Bay and the scattered homesteads and far-off cattle runs of the interior."

²On pp. 58–59.

The Lot of the Khoi-Khoi and Saan Peoples under the Rule of the Company

Despite the backwardness of the indigenous (Khoi-Khoi and Saan) peoples, the colonizers met with stout resistance on their part.

Already in 1659 the Khoi-Khoi tribes started a war of liberation against the usurpers but, of course, to no avail.

Later the Dutch began pitting the Khoi-Khoi tribes against one another. They succeeded in provoking several internecine wars in which they helped the Khoi-Khoi tribes against one another.

Such a provocation on the part of the colonists in 1680 led to that internecine war of two large Khoi-Khoi tribes, the Namaqua and the Griqua, as a result of which the defeated Griqua tribe—according to Dutch sources—"placed itself under the protection of the colonists", that is, submitted to their power.

Thus the colonists achieved that some Khoi-Khoi tribes were pushed into the interior of the country and others fell under Dutch influence and became dependent on the Dutch. There was even some mixture of the colonizers with the Khoi-Khoi.

The case was somewhat different in connexion with the Saan tribes. They refused to yield to the Dutch influence. They hid in the forests and offered embittered resistance. The colonizers, being aware that they entertained vain hopes for their subjugation, decided to exterminate the Saan tribes totally.

The struggle of the Saan for survival lasted two centuries in the form of minor wars and scattered skirmishes. The majority of the Saan were gradually exterminated, and those who managed to survive were pushed beyond the boundaries of the colony, across the Orange River.

Struggle of the Boer Colonists with the Administration of the Dutch East India Company

During the first few years of its existence the colony had no kind of colonial administration at all. The "Commandant", VAN RIEBEECK, was a sovereign lord like a ship's captain. He was only subordinate to the headquarters established at Batavia (at a distance of three months' voyage by sea) and, through it, to the Company's Chamber of directors at Amsterdam ("the Council of the Seventeen").

But the colonists (or "burghers" as they called themselves) rapidly grew in numbers. Under SIMON VAN DER STEL (1679–99) the colony expanded tremendously. He founded Stellenbosch in 1680, and in 1689 the French emigrants (Huguenots) were settled at Drakenstein and French Hoek. In 1691 SIMON VAN DER STEL received the title of Governor. Subordinate to him were the directors (*landdrost*) of the four regions of the colony at the time (Cape, Stellenbosch, Drakenstein and Paarl). He was seconded by the "Council of Policy", the "High Court of Justice" and the "Treasury". All these, however, consisted of employees of the Company, and the "burghers" remained without any representation whatsoever in these bodies.

Meanwhile, friction between the Administration and the colonists became almost constant, especially because of the prohibition of trading between the settlers and the Africans. The mounting discontent and indignation of the colonists was still further fomented by the actions of Governor SIMON VAN DER STEL, and particularly of his son and successor, WILLEM ADRIAAN VAN DER STEL (1699–1707), and their officials who used their positions to enrich themselves. The way things stood by 1700 was that as much as about one-third of all arable land and of the vineyards in the colony belonged to the VAN DER STEL family and their retinue.

In 1706, sixty-three burghers, headed by ADAM TAS, sent to Batavia a secret petition protesting against the Governor and his management of the affairs. By way of reprisal, VAN DER STEL had many settlers arrested, imprisoned and deported. But the movement succeeded in some respect: VAN DER STEL was recalled in the following year.

The relations between the Administration and the colonists, however, did not improve but, on the contrary, became more and more strained. Economic dependence and the lack of political liberties raised the spirit of resistance of the burghers. At the same time the most serious grievance in their eyes was that the Administration forbade their contact with Khoi-Khoi tribesmen. In storing up large supplies of meat and other products, the Company was dependent on the Khoi-Khoi tribes. It cheated them regularly and not seldom even forcibly slaughtered or seized their cattle. At the same time, however, the Administration issued peremptory orders-in-council, calling upon the colonists to treat the Africans "delicately" and prohibiting private trading with them. It mercilessly persecuted and punished any breach of these prohibitions on the part of the settlers and any violent or offensive act committed to the detriment of the Africans, provided it was likely to do harm to the commercial interests of the Company.

The burghers often rose in local riots on this account, and in 1739 an uprising broke out at Paarl. The cause of the action was that several burghers were brought into court with the charge of having done damage to Khoi-Khoi of the Namaqua tribe. But the insurgents, led by a deserting ex-sergeant of the garrison, ETIENNE BARBIER, accused the Governor, besides favouring the Khoi-Khoi, of "tyranny" and corruption, and called upon the burghers not to pay taxes any more. The uprising was suppressed, BARBIER was executed, and the other participants of the action were enrolled in a military detachment — against the Saan.

This uprising was followed by a spell of calm. There was no open action any more. A partial explanation of this calm is that part of the most dissatisfied colonists, gradually moving eastwards ("frontier Boers"), lost permanent and direct contact with the Administration and to a certain degree slipped away from the Company's control, though they continued to pay rents and taxes.

The activities of the Administration, however, did not appease the embitterment and indignation of the burghers inhabiting Capetown and the adjacent regions. The spirit of discontent began to rise in the seventies, when news came of a democratic movement in Holland (establishment of the party of "democratic patriots") and of the revolution of American colonies against Great Britain. A secret meeting of "the Cape Patriots" in 1779 elected four emissaries to go to Amsterdam to present to the "Seventeen" the complaint and demands of the burghers.

These demands were a peculiar medley of progressive and reactionary aspirations. The burghers demanded a written constitution, participation in legislation, seven seats in the "Council of Policy" to discuss all questions concerning them and half of all seats in the "High Court", the right to direct contact with the "Seventeen", *reduction of the ground rent, an increase of wine prices, fixed taxation, the freedom of trade with the Indies and, in part, with Holland, etc.*

To these progressive demands were added, however, such as the *freedom of the slave trade* with Madagascar, the *freedom of flogging* to punish the slaves, the prohibition of the Chinese and Javanese (former slaves) from trading, the interdiction of all foreigners from settling down in the colony, purchasing or renting houses, trading, becoming burghers, etc.

As a result of the memorandum of "the Cape Patriots" the Chamber of directors

of the Company started an investigation. The further march of these events was halted by the war that broke out between Great Britain and France in 1780 and in which Holland was entangled on the side of France.

Anglo-French Rivalry for the Cape. Temporary Occupation of Cape Colony by France

Cape Colony was no bone of contention between Europeans until the last quarter of the 18th century. Its harbour granted free entry to ships of different nations to supply themselves with fresh products and water. Besides, the colony was no place of attraction and, what is more, it was in the hands of the powerful Company. Nobody would have dreamed of even disputing its rights. It was not until the end of the 18th century (1781), when the leading countries of Europe—Great Britain and France—began to form a new attitude towards the colonies, and the Dutch Company had ceased to prosper, that Britain hatched plans to conquer Cape Colony. But there she had to meet the challenge of France.

In 1781 at Porto Praya in the Cape Verde Islands SUFFREN, the French admiral, defeated the maritime expedition of Commodore JOHNSTONE who had been sent out to seize Cape Colony. Then, "to obviate its seizure by the English", the French landed their troops at Capetown and remained there for two years (1781–83).

The Last Efforts of the Company

Still during the French occupation the directors of the Company, relying on reports from their administrators, worked out detailed reforms for the colony and, after the withdrawal of the French, they replaced Governor VAN PLETTENBERG with VAN DER GRAAF.

By the time the latter assumed his post (January 1785) the Cape Patriots had put forth new demands supported by 400 signatures and had sent another four emissaries to Amsterdam, and so they received the new Governor with enmity. The emissaries, who failed in their mission with the "Seventeen", appealed even to the king, but all they could obtain was the promise that the new Governor would institute the necessary reforms.

During the six years of his governorship (1785–91) VAN DER GRAAF introduced some reforms indeed, including even such as had been demanded by the burghers — though, in curtailed form. The reforms were too insignificant to give satisfaction to the burghers. On the other hand, as a consequence of the squandering and abuse of power on the part of VAN DER GRAAF, the reforms cost pretty much to the Company and were to a great extent responsible for its coming bankruptcy. (The Governor kept 60 trained horses; the yearly investment in the work of fortification was raised from £25,000 to £120,000; etc.)

In 1791 VAN DER GRAAF was recalled, and in the summer of the same year two "Commissioners" were sent to the colony's "rescue" — NEDERBURGH and FRYKENIUS. In the one year of their management they took a range of desperate economic and financial measures which essentially meant an increase in the tax and other burdens imposed upon the colonists. At the end of the year, when they learned that Holland had joined Britain in making war upon France, they went home, leaving General SLUYSKEN in their place.

The new Commissioner led the Administration for two years. During this period the discontent of the burghers came to a head. Many farmers had been brought to

ruin because the Company, being already engaged in winding up its affairs, did not comply with its contractual obligations towards the farmers. The situation became particularly grave because of new conflicts between the Administration and the burghers over the latter's contacts with the Xhosa peoples.

*The First Encounters with the Xhosa Tribes.
Sharpening Conflicts between the Company and the Settlers*

The first information we have of the Xhosa tribes advancing southward dates from the 17th century (1687), and their first clashes with the settlers of Cape Colony forging ahead eastward and northeastward took place in the first half of the 18th century (1736, 1754). At first there were no armed conflicts. In 1778 a peaceful agreement was reached between the Governor of Cape Colony and the tribal chiefs to the effect that the Great Fish River should be the boundary between the Colony and the Xhosa settlements.

The collision came three years later. Bourgeois historians assert that it was due to the Xhosa transgressing the agreement by raiding into the territory of the Boers. The results of the war of 1781, however, show that the Boers by no means fought to defend their frontiers. Defeating the Xhosa by force of arms, the Boers took from them not only their former country but also a large territory beyond the Great Fish River as far as the Kei River.

The Xhosa, being driven out of their lands and pastures, found the situation unbearable and eight years later rose in revolt against the Boers. This second Boer-“Kafir” war ended in compromise. The boundary was drawn west of the Great Fish River.

The question of contacts with the Xhosa was one of the sore points in the relations of the Company with the colonists. The latter wanted to trade with the Xhosa. The Company forbade this trade. It insisted on the strict separation of the colony from the settlements of the Xhosa, forbidding both (the Boers and the Xhosa) even to cross that frontier. The colonists, of course, respected neither the frontier nor the prohibition of trade.

On the other hand, there were constant conflicts between the settlers and the Xhosa beside this “illegal” intercourse. The Administration, although it organized more than one campaign against the Africans, not only refused to help the burghers at strife with the aborigines, but even kept them from taking action on their own account. All this sharpened the conflicts between the Company and the colonists.

Commissioner SLUYSKEN and his appointee, *landdrost* MAYNIER, whom the burghers detested, issued order after order prohibiting private trading with the Africans in the spirit of old rules established in the 17th century. SLUYSKEN rejected the burghers' demand for the dismissal of MAYNIER and finally decreed that no burgher without a passport issued by the *landdrost* and no African without a special brass ticket should cross the Great Fish River.

Revolt of the Settlers against the Company and the Seizure of the Colony by Britain

In February 1796, forty burghers of the district of Graaff Reinet, who called themselves “Nationals”, under the leadership of VAN JAARSVELD and J. C. TRICHARDT ousted MAYNIER, proclaimed the end of the Company's rule and declared their refusal to pay taxes, rents and other contributions to the Company. The “Commission-

ers” sent out by SLUYSKEN were also chased away, and early in June the rebels elected a *landdrost* and a council (*heemraden*) of their own.

Four days later the same happened at Swellendam, where the burghers convened their own “National Assembly”.

But the events took a completely unexpected turn: in the revolt of the colonists Britain found a pretext for intervention. It was in the same week, on June 11, 1795, that a fleet of nine British warships dropped anchor in False Bay, and this meant the seizure of the colony by the British.

Characteristics of Dutch Colonization in South Africa

As appears from the foregoing, South Africa in the 17th and 18th centuries held a very particular position among the African colonies. There were quite a few circumstances that distinguished it from all the other regions occupied by the Europeans on the coasts of Africa.

Cape Colony was founded by the Dutch, not for the purposes of the slave trade, nor in order to procure gold or any other precious colonial products. It was founded out of strategic considerations and as a station for the refreshment of the Company's ships bound for India.

It could not participate in the slave trade as a supplier, because of the scarcity of its indigenous population (Khoi-Khoi and Saan), and since the majority of these peoples (all Saan tribes and many of the Khoi-Khoi tribes) resisted enslavement.

Cape Colony played some role in the slave trade, but only as a purchaser. A few years after its establishment (1657—58) the colony received slaves from Java, Madagascar and Angola. Later the number of slaves reached tens of thousands.

Other branches of the “African trade” were to Cape Colony almost completely impracticable for lack of suitable commodities. The gold reefs in that period were not yet discovered. The numerous expeditions sent out to search for the legendary golden country of Monomotapa in the interior of the continent were unsuccessful. They found some silver deposits, but the Administration of the colony was not in a position to organize their exploitation. The only commodity that might have yielded big profits was ivory. It was not ignored, indeed, but the elephant hunt did not develop considerably until the beginning of the 19th century, when the Boer colonists started to venture farther inland.

This is why the role of Cape Colony in the primitive accumulation of capital was different from that of other African colonies: it served as a rich base for the Dutch East India Company on the trade route towards other rich sources of accumulation — India, Batavia, etc. Cape Colony itself did not promise any large profits to the Dutch bourgeoisie, but it helped derive such profits from elsewhere. Throughout more than a century dividends on the Company's shares averaged 20 per cent per annum, sometimes going up as high as 75 per cent.

The colonial activities of the usurpers in Cape Colony were also utterly different from those in other African colonies, Cape Colony being in that period the only African colony with a large number of resident European settlers. It was the only colony where the Europeans were engaged in systematic economic activity, cultivating their farms. Also, it was the only colony where the Europeans occupied, not only small strips of land to build stations, factories, forts, etc., but also large territories for farming. Finally, it was the only colony where the colonizers largely practised the seizure (by force or by cheating) of the principal means of subsistence of the African tribes — their livestock.

From this singular colonizing activity followed also the *peculiarity of the relations between colonizers and Africans*. In this respect South Africa showed many symptoms that existed nowhere else in African colonies in that period: the systematic extermination of the aborigines, the dispossession of entire tribes of their territories, the transformation of large numbers of Africans into "labourers" (half-slaves or serfs), etc., and finally, the more or less systematic mixture of European settlers with certain African tribes (Khoi-Khoi). The peculiar relations between colonizers and aborigines manifested themselves also in the reaction of the Africans. South Africa is the only country where whole tribes, already in this early period of the European intrusion, were forced to abandon their territories and migrate into other regions. And it was the only one where large numbers of the aborigines themselves (the Khoi-Khoi) entered into the service of the white men and mixed with them. As a result, South Africa already in the 18th century became a country which not only had its own "white population" (in contrast to other colonies, where only individual whites lived), but where in some places the population consisted of two elements, "white" and African (or mixed) people. It was the only country in Africa where, in some places, the Africans constituted the minority of the population of their homeland.

South Africa was the only country where the European colonizers came into conflict both with peoples they had found there and—while pushing their conquests eastward and northward—with peoples (the Bantu) advancing in the opposite direction, with whom they began warring in a systematic manner, first to delimit and then to seize the territories they occupied.

An exceptional symptom in the history of all Africa, and distinctly peculiar even on the scale of world history, is the origin and evolution of the Boer people with their conflicting character. The labouring colonial farmers, dependent on the Company which oppressed and exploited them, gradually turned into landowners, usurpers and even slaveholders. At the same time they were still oppressed and exploited by the Company. From this contradictory situation followed, on the one hand, their peculiar relations with the Africans, as mentioned above, and, on the other, the highly peculiar relations—absolutely unknown in other African colonies in that period—between the administration of the colony (the Company) and the settlers: the complete economic dependence of the colonists upon the Company and their more and more embittered political struggle against its policy, often leading to local riots, and twice (in 1739 and 1795) even to open revolts.

Finally, a peculiar symptom of the relations between the colonial administration and the settlers manifested itself in permanent conflicts between the Company and the Boer colonists on account of their intercourse with the Africans who in that period played an important part in the domestic political history of the colony (the prohibition of private trade with the Africans; the hypocritical "protection" of the Africans by the Company from the farmers, etc.).

Cape Colony occupied a special position, as we have seen, in respect of the internecine struggle of European powers for the African colonies. This struggle here broke out only towards the end of this period, but it soon resulted in the Dutch East India Company's loss of Cape Colony.

Simultaneously with and even prior to this armed struggle, a rivalry of European powers in the "exploration" of South Africa also unfolded (the travels of the Frenchman LEVAILLANT, the Englishman PATTERSON, the German KOLBE, etc.).¹

¹ KOLBE resided in Cape Colony from 1705 to 1713; PATTERSON took four journeys to South Africa (1777, 1778 and 1779), and LEVAILLANT was there twice (1780–82 and 1783–85). See their works indicated in the bibliography.

The specific character of the South African colony and the peculiar symptoms of its early history make a study of this latter particularly significant. The Cape Colony of the Dutch East India Company is the prototype of all those African colonies where European colonization assumed some considerable proportions, where, besides the African husbandry, the European farming and plantation has also played a significant (an in places even predominant) role (*e.g.*, Kenya, the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, etc.). Therefore the study of the origin and development of Cape Colony through the 17th and 18th centuries is indispensable in order to understand the history of the origin and development of other colonies of this type in the 19th and 20th centuries.

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- See also the work of DEGRANDPRÉ (p. 148).

CHAPTER VIII

MADAGASCAR

The Peoples of Madagascar in the 16th to 18th Centuries

Attempts to invade the island of Madagascar, like the African mainland, were made by the Europeans from the 16th century onwards. But for three centuries these attempts proved futile and did not essentially influence the domestic, socio-economic development of the peoples of Madagascar.

Attempts at colonization were made only in certain points of the littoral. The European adventurers and trading companies that tried to intrude into the island were comparatively poorly equipped. If they still succeeded, for a short while, in establishing themselves in certain points of the island, it was because the Malagasy peoples lived dispersed and in separation from one another. The European intruders encountered only a few minor tribes. They pillaged and in part annihilated them, but they had no influence upon the economic life and social development of these peoples.

It is true that, in some cases, the aliens managed to make the chief (or female chief) of one or another tribe submit to their influence and thus to make such tribes serve the purposes of their predatory undertakings. But such events could not have either any lasting influence upon the domestic economy of Madagascar. These encounters did not last long enough, and occurred at too long intervals, to have any permanent effect.

Nevertheless, the fact of the tribes' being dispersed and separated from one another (which made it easier for the aliens to intrude into the island and to subject some tribes to their disastrous influence) was, throughout the 16th to 18th centuries, one of the main factors that enabled the Malagasy tribes to safeguard their independence and to prevent the seizure of their homeland by the alien newcomers. Since every one of these encounters was limited to one or a few minor tribes of the coast, and since the various tribes had no contacts among them but were rather engaged in hostilities, the great majority of the Malagasy tribes remained absolutely unaffected by the foreign influence until the end of the epoch under discussion.

The first steps to unite the peoples of Madagascar were taken in the first half of the 17th century: one western tribe, called the *Sakalava*, united the scattered tribes of the west in a great tribal alliance under its own name, while every tribe retained its tribal name and organization. The Sakalava alliance divided into two large groups ("kingdoms"): the South Sakalava (Menabde) and the North Sakalava (Iboina).

About a hundred years later, in the second half of the 18th century, under the pressure of repeated attempts by the French to invade the island, and owing to their more or less frequent clashes with Sakalava tribes, the tribes of the east coast and the adjacent regions began to feel like joining forces to wage the struggle against the

aliens and against the hostile western tribes. Being aware of these aspirations, the talented European adventurer, BENYOVSZKY, first wanted to make use of the situation in the interest of the French conquerors in whose pay he was, but later tried to carve out an independent Malagasy State under his own rule and American protection. This latter effort of BENYOVSZKY, though not being devoid of the character of a historical adventure, was an objective expression of the Malagasy peoples' awakening aspirations for unification.

The First Attempts of Europeans to Invade Madagascar

After the discovery of Madagascar by the Portuguese (1506), over the 16th and in the first half of the 17th century Portuguese, Dutch, English and French adventurers, slave traders and missionaries made a great many attempts to take possession of the island, but they all failed in this venture. Part of the alien invaders were exterminated by the aborigines, and the rest of them succumbed to diseases.

In 1529, for example, two ships of French merchants from Dieppe anchored before the shores of the island. They tried a landing but were compelled to beat the retreat after three men of the crew were killed in a clash with islanders.

In 1540 the Portuguese succeeded in making a landing and setting up a factory allegedly for peaceful trading purposes. In fact, they engaged in missionary propaganda and began to capture the inhabitants to sell them to Arab slave dealers. But the islanders did not tolerate them long. In 1548 they exterminated all the traders and missionaries (all in all five out of 70 managed to escape).

The Dutch attempts made through the late 16th and early 17th centuries met with no more success. For instance: four out of the eight Dutch merchants who established themselves at Antongil Bay died of tropical diseases, and the remaining four were killed by the islanders. An island of this bay, which once also was a small Dutch settlement, has since been named the "Dutch cemetery".

In the first half of the 17th century the English raided into the island with greater forces. In the early forties of the century they landed about 400 men in the mouth of the St. Augustine River and erected a fort. The British Parliament even appointed a "Governor of Madagascar" (JAMES BONAR), and in 1644 decided to establish a British colony there under Prince RUPERT as viceroy. The prince was to start out for the final conquest of the island with 12 warships and 30 trading vessels. But all these ambitious plans came to nothing. The general political situation forced the British government to renounce them, and when a few years later the French from Fort Dauphin appeared at the place of the British settlement, all they found there was more than 300 graves.

Unsuccessful Attempts by France to Colonize Madagascar

The first serious steps towards the colonization of Madagascar were taken by the French "Company of the East", which was founded under the patronage of Cardinal RICHELIEU in 1642. A few small settlements were established with 200 French colonists on the coast in the east of the island (Fort Dauphin, Fénérive, etc.). After many bloody engagements with the islanders, the colony managed to hold out only because a French agent, VACHER DE ROCHELLE, ingratiated himself with the aborigines by marrying the heiress of a tribal chief.

In 1664 the Company was reorganized into the "French East India Company", which obtained the concession of all French possessions in Madagascar. In 1671, however, DE ROCHELLE was killed by an islander, and a year later, on the Christmas Eve of 1672, all French colonists — save a few men who managed to escape — were exterminated.

The Age of Pirates in Madagascar

In the following years the French government, which had no effective control over Madagascar, repeatedly declared its "annexation" (1686) and the "rights of France to the colonial possessions in Madagascar" (1719, 1720, 1725). But from 1672 to 1750 no European settlement existed in Madagascar, apart from a few posts established during that period by English, French and Dutch pirates. It was these who early in the 18th century founded in the island of St. Marie "the cosmopolitan free city" of Libertatia, which later, in 1722—23, was swept away by the attack of a united Anglo-French fleet.

The Second Phase of French Attacks upon Madagascar and the Adventure of Count Benyovszky

In 1750 the French succeeded in obtaining the right to the island of St. Marie and the opposite coastal land which was ceded to them by the indigenous "Queen" BETTY, who had married a French subaltern officer. On account of this concession the people rose in revolt during which the French "governor" was killed.

It was not long, however, before BETTY renewed her agreement with the French (1754). After this the French began expanding their possessions.

This was to no small extent due to the activity of the Hungarian adventurer in French pay, Count BENYOVSZKY (1772—1786). After many successful battles fought (in part by arms, in part by ruse) for the interests of France, BENYOVSZKY endeavoured to create in Madagascar "an independent native kingdom" with himself as king — under American protectorate. The French government sent troops against the "rebel", and BENYOVSZKY was killed in action while fighting against the French government troops.

During the first few years after the death of BENYOVSZKY, French colonization in Madagascar stood still. By the time the French Revolution broke out, France had in the island only a few provision depots to supply her colonies in the islands of Bourbon (Réunion) and Mauritius.

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PART THREE

BLACK AFRICA IN THE PERIOD OF INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM (1789—1870)

INTRODUCTION

Characteristics of the Period

With the consolidation of industrial capitalism in the most advanced countries of Europe, mainly in Great Britain, the colonial policy of the European powers in Africa changed. These powers began striving to create conditions for the exploitation of large masses of the African population on the spot, for the extraction of the products and raw materials most needed by industrial capital. Therefore they endeavoured to get hold of as large territories as possible together with their population.

The main obstacle to the realization of this aim was the slave trade. The interests of industrial capitalism demanded the suppression of the slave trade in order to preserve the most precious (owing to inexpensiveness) supplies of African manpower on the spot. Without securing cheap labour on the spot, that is, without suppressing the slave trade, the systematic colonial exploitation of African peoples in Africa itself was out of question. On the other hand, it became increasingly clear that the use of slave labour on plantations in the West Indies and in America, where slaves from Africa were shipped, was inexpedient.

This is why the most developed capitalist powers, first of all Great Britain, started campaigning for the abolition of the slave trade. This campaigning took place under pompous, hypocritical slogans like "morality" and "humaneness". Actually, it was a campaign of the worst type of spoilers to create conditions for introducing a system of oppression and to achieve the exploitation of the backward peoples throughout Africa.

Another serious obstacle was the fact of the interior African countries being unexplored. Although Europeans had lived on the coasts of Africa for centuries past, they had almost no knowledge of the inland countries. True, certain travellers penetrated into the heart of Africa as early as the 16th to 18th centuries. But they took interest mainly in slaves, and in the supply of gold and ivory. Of the natural resources and production potentialities of the interior countries of Africa they knew very little. In order to begin the seizure and capitalist conquest of the African countries, these had to be explored and investigated. Before starting to organize exploitation, the capitalists wanted and had to know where it would be profitable to undertake what and how.

From the end of the 18th century onwards, the European powers proceeded to organize the systematic exploration of the interior of Africa. Explorations were made under the banner of scientific expeditions with the alleged aim of enriching mankind's scientific knowledge of geography, geology, botany, zoology, etc., or even through missionaries with the alleged task of converting to Christianity and "civilization" the backward, "savage" peoples of Africa. In fact, these expeditions and missionary

campaigns were reconnoitring activities of European capital to find out the chances and prospects for the colonial exploitation of these countries and to prepare their seizure.

The heyday period of industrial capitalism in the most advanced European countries (1789—1870) was to Africa, first and foremost, the period of reconnaissance expeditions of advanced capitalist countries of Europe and of their struggle against the slave trade. Both the reconnoitring expeditions and the anti-slavery campaigns were but preparations for further expansion and new conquests.

The new policy of expanding the colonial possessions in Africa, of seizing not only bases on the coast, but also larger territories of the interior, was in the making. There were sufficient attempts to carry out this policy, although effective expansion throughout the period was still insignificant.

In Equatorial Africa during this period the Europeans did not go beyond explorations. They seized new places on the coast of West Equatorial Africa. Not even that much happened in Central and East Equatorial Africa (as well as on the east coast which was in the hands of Arabs). On the west coast (upper Guinea coast), beside laying hold of several places, Great Britain and France were already trying to penetrate the inland countries adjoining the coast, but scored little success — thanks to the determined resistance of the Africans. The attempts to conquer relatively more developed independent African countries (Ethiopia and Madagascar) met with no better success.

The sphere of European invasion was essentially broadened in two regions only: 1. *South Africa*, where the British, and the Boers whom they were pressing hard in this period, seized large territories of African tribes and established a number of new colonies; and 2. the *Eastern Sudan* which, at the end of this period, Great Britain, thanks to her predominant influence over Egypt, began to change into a dependent territory of her own.

In the end, however, on an all-African scale, the territorial seizures by European powers in this period were insignificant.

There was no substantial change in the development of the colonial economy either. The transformation of the old system of colonial plundering and exploitation into a new policy was prepared but not realized as yet. True, the slave trade lost much of its vigour. The open traffic in slaves stopped in many places almost entirely, but there was still illicit trafficking. In several regions (particularly in East Africa), however, the human traffic was flourishing as ever before.

But, even where the slave trade stopped, the labour of the large African masses remained unavailable to foreign capital. This is why no significant improvement could be made in the production of foodstuffs, especially raw materials, in the development of new branches of production, etc. Despite the changed purposes of industrial capitalism, its colonial activities in fact followed the former course of the "African trade", except that the specific volume of the "living merchandise" (which now was illegal) diminished, while that of other African products increased.

Attempts to organize the colonial economy, to create the systematic production of colonial goods, were made here and there (by the French in Senegal, by the Portuguese in Angola, by the British in Fernando Po and Sierra Leone, etc.). There were open attempts to settle European colonists in the African possessions, to encourage farming on plantations. But all these attempts yielded almost no results, partly because of the shortage of manpower (the European colonists and workers died of tropical diseases, and the African masses were not yet "domesticated"). But the main reason was that all the African undertakings in this period bore the marks of



22—29.
Slaves freed from a slave-ship seized
by the British in the 60's
of the 19th century
(see pp. 193—194)

the old, rapacious and adventurous spirit of the "African trade". These attempts were organized not by sensible capitalist entrepreneurs, but either by great swindlers or by colonial administrators desirous of making quick fortunes.

In South Africa, in this colony of a specific type, the development in this respect took a different course. The colonization of land by the Europeans was already highly developed. At the beginning of this period (1790) the Cape colonists — as we have seen¹ — numbered about 14,600, and by the end of this period (1870) the number of settlers in the four South African colonies already amounted to more than 200,000. Farming was highly developed in all four colonies, and in Natal the plantation economy had begun.

The role of the various European powers in the African arena had changed definitely. Portugal and Holland fell into the background. The first place was taken by Great Britain, then came France and Germany. The changes in the character and dimensions of colonization demanded considerable activity from the capitalist States themselves. The individual capitalists were ever more often replaced by their governments in concluding "peace treaties" with African chiefs concerning whole regions and even countries, in organizing military campaigns, financing the expeditions of travellers, missionary societies etc.

Characteristics of the "Struggle against the Slave Trade"

The British bourgeoisie was really interested in the prohibition of the export of slaves from Africa, it really struggled for the abolition of the slave trade. On the other hand, just as before, when it had pursued the slave traffic in its own predatory interest, having an eye to profit, so now, when demanding the abolition of the slave trade, it had in mind only its own selfish interests, bothering little about what would happen to the unfortunate slaves concerned. All the solemn expatiation on the humanitarian and historic role of Great Britain in abolishing the slave trade, and "saving the African peoples from the plague of the slave traffic", was but mere sham and hypocrisy. The pursuits of British capital as fighter for the abolition of the slave-trade were to the African peoples no less harsh and rapacious than its former slavetrading activities. The situation of the African millions not only did not improve but, in the end, worsened as a consequence of the British fighting against the slave trade.

The measures Great Britain took against the slave trade did not, until the end of this period, prevent the slave hunt from going on in the interior of the continent as before. The travellers who penetrated into the heart of Africa either watched the slave hunt as a funny thing or, at best, expressed hypocritical indignation at the events and pious wishes to see the end of the horrors of the slave trade. Until the close of this period Great Britain did not take any serious steps to struggle against the very roots of the plague of the slave trade (the slave hunt and the transportation of slaves to the littoral). Her entire struggle against the slave trade was in fact limited to intercepting the slave ships, and raiding the slave-trading factories and to liberating the slaves thus caught. The fact that some "wicked" slave merchants were now and then hanged from the masts of their ships was of no practical consequence.

¹ See p. 175.

Such methods, of course, could not bring about the liquidation of the slave trade, but the result was that from a legal trading business it turned into smuggling. As such, it would entail great risks — but, accordingly — great profits, too.

As a consequence of this struggle, the situation of the African peoples went from bad to worse. The destruction of the economic and social life of the peoples from whom the slaves were captured continued as before. While formerly the slaves enjoyed relative freedom during the sea passage, now their transportation took place in considerably worse conditions: they were put into jail lest they should be overtaken by those hunting for smugglers, and they were not allowed to have a breath of fresh air. When a slave ship was pursued by a British vessel and the owner was aware that he would not be able to escape, then to avoid discovery of his criminal act he simply ordered his entire "cargo" to be thrown overboard, preferring thus to save his own life at the cost of losing his "merchandise"; the slaves were bound together, heavy loads tied to their feet, and they were flung overboard. Thus, despite the "humanitarian" struggle of the British, the slave trade was not liquidated but became more horrible than ever before. At the same time, in view of the considerable increase in losses during the voyage from Africa to America, the slave dealers were compelled to export from the interior of Africa more people than before in order to satisfy the demand for slaves.

The real motives and the utmost hypocrisy of the British and other capitalists "fighting" against the slave trade are conclusively shown by the course of events of this "struggle". During this entire period their rapacious actions, aimed at the expansion of their African possessions, were undertaken almost everywhere under pretext of this "struggle". In many cases British or French usurpers gained control over one or another place or region in Africa by concluding, with some local African chief, a "treaty" on the termination of the slave trade in that territory, or on the chief's participation in the struggle against the slave trade. Then on the pretext of the Africans having violated the treaty, the usurpers interfered in the domestic affairs of the country and gradually laid hold of it.

By the sixties of the 19th century the British went even farther: under the banner of "expeditions for the eradication of the slave trade" they organized veritable military operations for the conquest of African countries. The first great expedition of this type was that of BAKER into the Eastern Sudan.

Another fact, characteristic of the hypocrisy of the British "struggle for the liberation of slaves", was that the English in most cases, when intercepting whole cargoes of slaves aboard ships or on the coast, did not simply set the slaves free but began to employ them for their purposes, putting them in the position of ruthlessly exploited *hired slaves* in the conditions of semi-slavery on plantations (for example, in Fernando Po).

Characteristics of the Exploring Expeditions

Among the European travellers of this period, who tried to explore Africa, there were a great many high-minded people who really and sincerely wished to serve the cause of science and civilization and had nothing in common with the rapacious plans of the capitalists.

Such a man was, for instance, the French RENÉ CAILLIÉ, son of a worker's family. In 1814, the fifteen-year old boy without a penny of his own set out for Senegal, where he lived for about ten years, exploring the country. The Paris Geographical

Society in 1824 offered a prize to any traveller who would reach Timbuktu first. CAILLIÉ, though lacking any means, decided to undertake the journey. To begin with, he spent about a year among Moslem Arab tribes of Mauritania to learn their language and usages. Then he applied to the French colonial administration of Senegal, set forth his plan and asked for help. He was laughed over and told to take a job — as a gardener. Then he went to the British colony of Sierra Leone, took a job and, saving 2,000 francs of his salary, bought everything necessary for the journey. After that, donning African clothes and posing as a Moslem foreigner, without any means and almost without any outfit, he set out alone and accomplished on foot the grandiose feat of walking from the coast to Timbuktu and from Timbuktu to Morocco, passing through the Western Sudan and the Sahara. On his way he studied the life of the inhabitants of that vast territory and its physical features. Upon returning to France he soon died of a disease he had contracted in Africa.

Another valiant and courageous explorer was RICHARD LANDER, son of a poor English farmer. As a servant he accompanied the English traveller CLAPPERTON on his journey through the Western Sudan. When in 1827, upon the death of CLAPPERTON at Sokoto, he was left alone, he continued and completed the exploration started by CLAPPERTON. At a later date, almost without any support from the British government, he accomplished two more exploring journeys in the Western Sudan and achieved great scientific results (exploration of the lower course of the Niger River). He died of a wound inflicted by Africans during his third journey.

The history of the exploration of Africa boasts quite a few brilliant figures like CAILLIÉ and LANDER. But in capitalist society the fruit of their labour was reaped by the colonial usurpers. Despite their personal selflessness and high-mindedness, even these brilliant men performed by their travels, objectively speaking, the historical role of the pioneers of European capital who were preparing the conquest and subjugation of African countries and peoples. In their wake went merchants, adventurers, and later military detachments. And the majority of African explorers, particularly from the middle of the 19th century onwards, either were direct agents and scouts of European powers or willy-nilly turned into such agents later, after beginning their explorations for scientific or other selfless purposes.

The best example of this evolution is the lifework of the famous explorer and missionary, DAVID LIVINGSTONE. He arrived in Africa as a naïve and honest religious fanatic. He spent more than ten years in the inland countries of South Africa, full of his lofty missionary ideas about converting the Africans to Christianity and adapting them to European civilization and peaceful trade. He dreamed of serving the good of mankind, both "white" and "black". And, in fact, he rendered great service to British capital, to which his travels and discoveries were of extreme importance, though different from what they meant to him. Two years after his return in 1854 to London from his first grandiose journey, LIVINGSTONE already set out on a second travel, but this time with the government's commission to explore the natural resources of central Southeast Africa with a view to preparing their future seizure and colonial exploitation by Great Britain. (The inglorious deeds of LIVINGSTONE and other missionaries who went after him to Southeast Africa will be discussed below.¹)

Another characteristic example is SAMUEL BAKER,² one of the most notorious agents of Great Britain in the Eastern Sudan.

¹ See pp. 249–250.

² See p. 267.

Despite the intensifying colonial activity of the capitalist powers in this period, it seldom came to conflicts and clashes between the conquerors on account of African possessions. This is accounted for by the very character and the objective conditions of the African activity of capitalist powers in this period. Every one of the European powers possessed various places and regions on the coast. They could, and in fact did, begin their conquering campaigns from these bases on the coast. Since there was still much territory unconquered, and the invasion of the interior of the continent was going on slowly, it still did not come to conflicts or border skirmishes between the conquerors. The power struggle in this period took place rather in the form of peaceful competition for the "exploration" of Africa.

There were some armed conflicts on the west coast on account of certain places and regions of the coast which were particularly suitable bases for further expansion of the existing possessions. But even such conflicts ended as a rule in compromise between the two most rapacious powers (Great Britain and France) to the detriment of the lesser power. A relatively bitter struggle took place between the British and the French intruders around Madagascar at the beginning of this period and later in the middle of the 19th century.

The only region of Africa where in the given period there were endless conflicts and wars between the European powers was South Africa. But here the fight was waged not between the two greatest European powers, but between Great Britain and the Dutch-French (Boer) colonists.

Relations between Europeans and Africans. The Struggle of African Peoples against the Intruders

The relations between Europeans and the peoples of Africa in this period underwent considerable changes. These relations — that is, the effects of the European invasion upon the life and development of African societies, and the reactions of the latter — were different in the various parts of the continent, according to the extent and character of the European intrusion. From the point of view of the development of these relations in the period under discussion, we have to distinguish three sectors:

1. In the *coastal sector*, in those places and regions where the rule of the European conquerors had been consolidated, the old-time foundations of African societies were somewhat shaken. The internal differentiation of these societies had accelerated, because the tribal chiefs, having become supporters of the colonizers, received from them economic and political privileges enabling them to exploit their own tribesmen (they collected taxes for the colonial authorities and retained some part thereof for themselves, etc.). Some strata of Africans were constantly in the service of Europeans as domestic servants, workers, farm hands, porters, etc. Many of them gradually lost contact with their own tribes. Just as before, there were minor local uprisings, clashes between Africans and the intruders also in these regions, but less frequently than before. Rather obvious and great was here the superior strength of the Europeans who possessed military bases (forts) and refreshment stations on the coast.

2. The relations of Europeans with the tribes of the *countries and regions adjoining the European colonies* on the west and south coasts in this period underwent substantial changes. Formerly these peoples hardly came into contact with Europeans. In

places they had with them some — direct or indirect — commercial intercourse (especially in the regions of the slave trade on the west), but as usual it did not come to direct conflicts. As the aspirations of the Europeans for expansion into the interior were growing, such clashes became commonplace events. The hinterland of West and South Africa in this period became the main theatre of the struggle of African peoples against the European usurpers. The attempts of European colonizers to take possession of new territories met with the heroic resistance of the peoples inhabiting those regions, becoming increasingly aware of the threats to their lands and freedom. This realization prompted them to organize and join forces. The rapacious advance of European capital into the heart of Africa led to the awakening of many African tribes, to their creating strong military organizations and in places even more or less strong tribal federations (the Wolof in Senegal, the Ashanti on the Gold Coast, the Basuto and Zulu in South Africa, etc.).

In the given period the peoples of the two greatest independent African countries, *Ethiopia* and *Madagascar*, were in a similar position. Although the Europeans did not possess colonies of approach to these countries, they made attempts to seize Madagascar from the beginning of the 19th century and Ethiopia from the middle of the century onwards. The response of these countries, however, was their unification and organization of armed resistance.

3. In the *interior regions of the continent*, where Europeans entered only as travellers and missionaries, the African peoples received them in different ways. In certain places the European travellers met with friendship and co-operation. Many tribes, ignorant of the true nature of these "explorations", believed the hypocritical talk of the aliens, supplied them with food, gave them guides, etc. But there were quite a number of tribes which, mindful of the horrors of the slave trade, considered the alien newcomers their worst and most dangerous foes, and when ordinary — sometimes really harmless — travellers tried to enter their countries, they received them with implacable hostility and not seldom even killed them. But there was no conscious and organized struggle in these regions.

To this third sector belong more than nine-tenths of all Black Africa: the interior of South Africa, all Equatorial Africa except the (west and east) coasts, and all countries of the Western, Central and Eastern Sudan.

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THE PEOPLES OF WEST AFRICA IN THE 19TH CENTURY (UP TO 1870)

The intensifying intrusion of European powers upon the coastal regions of West Africa at the beginning of the 19th century had a growing impact on the life of West African peoples. Established at various bases on the coast, the European intruders began hatching new great plans to exploit the natural resources of those countries. To realize these plans, they had to strengthen and broaden their existing positions on the coast to prepare for further expansion into the interior of the continent.

The Coastal Tribes

The European powers therefore began to assure fuller "possession" — that is, the conquest and subjugation — of the coastal regions. The tribes which formerly had hardly yielded to the European influence now gradually became fully subjected to the European usurpers. Their small "countries" and "States" which had formerly been only in some degree dependent on the Europeans now gradually became colonial possessions of the latter. At the same time a growing number of coastal tribes were caught in the sphere of European influence. European possessions were growing in number and size.

A most striking example of tribes that fully submitted to the Europeans is the *Fanti* tribe on the Gold Coast who from the very beginning of the 19th century became an obedient tool in the hands of the British during the latter's wars against the Ashanti (see below), as well as a range of other tribes of the coastal regions of *Dahomey* (Porto-Novo, Grand Popo) which approximately from the mid-19th century onwards supported the French aspirations for the seizure of Dahomey.

But despite the fact that in the 19th century European military superiority over the primitive African tribes was greater than in the preceding period, the Europeans (and the colonists of Liberia) in certain cases met with stubborn resistance on the part of some coastal tribes. For example, one of the great coastal tribes of Sierra Leone — the *Temne* — very often offered armed resistance to the British colonizers, but were eventually in part pushed back into the country. On the Liberian coast the *Grebo* tribe firmly resisted the country's colonization with American Negroes and in 1856 started war against the colonists.

There was a very particular case of submission to the European influence on the part of a major tribe of the Liberian coast, the *Kru*, related in language to the Ashanti and Fanti. Living in small towns on the coast, they took to two main occupations: from time to time most of the *Krumen* engaged themselves as sailors and workers for

service on board European ships, and those remaining at home together with the women were engaged in trade, supplying the ships that anchored there with domestic products, and bartering with neighbouring tribes. In their small towns and villages they lived by tiny communities, each with a chief of its own who, however, was a representative of the community rather than a ruler. The community was governed by a council of elders led by the spiritual headman of the community. Both the chief and the council head were elected and could be relieved of their offices. The land was property of the community, and everything else, except personal belongings, was family property.

Peoples of the Intermediate Regions

But the changes were not confined to the coastal sector. European influence increasingly affected also considerable numbers of those tribes and countries which in the preceding period had remained fully or almost fully unaffected by it.

Some of the three groups of West African peoples and countries that had formerly been unaffected by the European intrusion — the countries between the upper Guinea coast and the Sudan, and the countries of the Western and Central Sudan — during the period under discussion (1791—1870) already came into direct contact with the Europeans and had several clashes with them. Remaining outside the sphere of European influence until the end of this period were only some States of the Central Sudan and part of the Western Sudan countries.

The British plans of expansion on the Gold Coast began unfolding in the early years of the 19th century. At the outset the coastal tribes refused to submit to the rule of the Ashanti king, and the troops of Ashanti, when advancing towards their enemy, suddenly had to face not only the African tribes of the coast but also British military detachments. From 1807 onwards, the history of Ashanti was one of struggles against the British conquerors.¹

In the 19th century great changes occurred in *Dahomey* as a result of the abolition of the slave trade. Foreign settlements and trading factories began mushrooming on the coast. The foreign merchants bought no more slaves, but all sorts of African products. In Dahomey the slave trade did not of course disappear at once, but gradually gave way to the trade in domestic products. Already in the first half of the 19th century the "kings" of Dahomey understood that a new era had come and they had to adapt themselves to it. They began to supply their products to the foreigners living on the coast and their domestic commodities to the foreign merchants. In the middle of the century, as a result of French expansion on the upper Guinea coast, Dahomey also came into regular contact with the European conquerors.²

Besides these two great African States, certain tribes of the intermediate regions also offered strong resistance to the intrusion of Europeans (and Liberians). Thus, for instance, the *Gola* and *Deh* tribes in Liberia in 1832 made an alliance for the event of war against the colonists. Later, being pitted against each other by the colonists, they fought against each other until the *Deh* were almost completely exterminated.

¹ See pp. 211—212.

² See p. 214.

Those who survived moved toward the coast and then lived under the protection of the Liberian authorities. The warlike *Gallina* tribes,¹ for a while after the abolition of the slave trade, continued fighting the neighbouring tribes, and later waged several defensive wars against the British colonizers of Sierra Leone and against the American Negroes of Liberia, firmly resisting their intrusion into Gallina territory.

The Fulah

At the beginning of the 19th century the Fulah led by one of their tribal chiefs, OTHMAN DAN FODIO, made great conquests in the Western Sudan. They fought under the banner and slogans of the Moslem religion: OTHMAN DAN FODIO proclaimed a "holy war" on the pretence of conquering the country of the pagans for the Moslems. But religion was, of course, only a pretext. The real aim was the unification of the many Fulah tribes, dispersed over several countries, into a great homogeneous State and the subjugation of other peoples to Fulah power. And the Fulah really succeeded. Their State extended over almost the entire northern half of present-day Nigeria. Its capital city was Sokoto. The small and medium States (the Hausa and others) that existed in these territories became either part of the Fulah State or vassal States dependent on the sultan of Sokoto. His supreme power over all northern Nigeria the sultan of Sokoto preserved until the British conquest.

As a result of the Fulah conquest of several Hausa States, many big former Hausa cities became Fulah cities, or were rather under Fulah government, though with marks of the cultures of both nationalities that mixed with each other in no small measure.

Just as the sultanate of Sokoto arose east of the Niger River, another Fulah State was founded in 1816 by the Fulah chief, AHMADU LOBO, with its capital Macina in the region south of the middle course of the Niger. This State annexed Timbuktu in 1826 and Segu around the middle of the 19th century.

Finally, in the eighteen-forties, the Fulah chief of Futa Toro, AL-HAJI OMAR, united the small chiefdoms in the countries of the upper Senegal and upper Niger (Futa Jallon, Futa Toro, Bondou, Kaarta, etc.). Later (1861) he subjected to his power also Macina and made Segu the seat of his government.

AL-HAJI OMAR was the first Fulah ruler who — in the fifties — came into contact and clashed with Europeans — the French.² The rest of the Fulah States remained outside the sphere of the European intrusion until the end of this period. True, the sultanates of Sokoto and Macina were visited several times by European travellers. In the first half of the century CLAPPERTON, and later LANDER, visited Sokoto. Both of them were given guarded reception by the sultan, who greatly hampered even their geographical investigations. (CLAPPERTON died of fever in Sokoto in 1827.) From the middle of the century onwards, both Segu and Macina were more frequently visited by German travellers. VOGEL, BARTH and ROHLFS stayed there one after another. But the interior development of these countries during the given period was not yet affected by the European influence, and the conquering attempts of the European colonizers did not yet reach them.

¹ See p. 124.

² See p. 213. ff

Influence of the Fulah. Migration of Peoples and Their Struggle with the Fulah

The Fulah conquests brought about many changes in the life of the peoples of West Africa and, in particular, a complete — or partial — mixture of a large number of West African peoples.

Many *Mandingo* tribes were pushed westward and, in turn, occupied territories of other peoples. Until the eighties of the 19th century an internal war was going on in many Mandingo tribes between followers of Islam, who recognized the Moslem spiritual chief (*al-Mami*), and their adversaries who were rallied to the pagan military chiefs.

The *Susu*, who in the preceding period had been ousted by the Mandingo from their territory westward into the interior of the Western Sudan, were now pushed still farther by the Fulah, and, in the second half of the 19th century, became dependent upon Futa Jallon and tributary to its sultan.

The *Vei* tribe, driven away by the Mandingo (who tried to convert them to the Moslem religion), definitively settled down in the south of Liberia early in the 19th century. In their new residence they had for many years to wage war against the *Gallina*. Later they nevertheless embraced Islam. The *Vei* have a written language of their own, invented by one of their tribesmen, DUALU-BUKERE, around 1830. Their alphabet has 200 signs, which represent syllables, not letters. DUALU-BUKERE tried at first to propagate his invention with the help of friends, but later obtained support from the paramount chief of the tribe (after presenting him with 100 rods of salt). Schools were set up to teach reading and writing, and a considerable portion of the tribe — adults and children, men and women — have really learned to read and write. DUALU-BUKERE wrote a history of his people and an essay on morals. Afterwards, however, as the *Vei* tribe was absorbed by the "civilization" the American Negroes brought into Liberia, the *Vei* language became a dialect, while the civilized strata of the tribe chose to use the English language.

Certain tribes fell under strong Fulah influence, but they still did not adopt Islam: for example, the *Wasulu* in the region of the sources of the Niger. Others, such as the *Solima* in the interior of Sierra Leone, whom the Fulah had several times subjugated, though adopting Islam every time, returned to their original primitive religion whenever they could rid themselves of the Fulah subjection.

From among the tribes of Senegal, it was the *Tukulors* and *Sarakollés*, and among the coastal tribes of the upper Guinea coast the *Nalumi* (in the border region between the then French Guinea and Portuguese Guinea) that fell under especially strong Fulah — and consequently Islamic — influence.

The Fulah met with most obstinate and courageous resistance from the *Yoruba* tribes in the southern part of Nigeria, who at the same time were entangled in a defensive war against Dahomey. During this fight on two fronts the *Yoruba* erected big fortified cities (sort of regencies). The *Yoruba* tribes were grouping under the rule of hereditary paramours (*obba*), but every city had its own headman who, though appointed by the paramount, was an independent and sovereign chief of his community and was not obliged to pay tribute to the paramount chief. Each of the headmen was assisted by a council of the tribal nobility, and on special important occasions a general assembly of the people was convoked. An outstanding part in the social life of the *Yoruba* was played by the secret societies (*Ogboni* and *Oro*). The most significant (for both size and role) among the *Yoruba* cities were Ibadan and Abeokuta. Ibadan was an advanced post in the struggle against the Fulah, and Abeokuta was founded in the twenties of the 19th century as a refuge for the *Yoruba* at war with the Dahomeyans. During the 19th century both cities — that is, regencies —

waged almost uninterrupted defensive wars against both the Fulah and the Dahomeyans, and repelled many aggressive attempts. But while they were able to hold out against the armed attacks of the Fulah, they were obliged to submit in some measure to their cultural influence. This manifested itself especially in the mass conversion of the Yoruba to Mohammedanism.

The Peoples of Adamawa

In the first half of the 19th century the Fulah conquered the vast territory of (present-day) *Adamawa* and founded there a State of their own (with Yola as its capital). The Sudanic tribes living dispersed in this territory had the alternative of recognizing the rule of the Fulah or moving farther south.

Among the peoples who were able to safeguard their independence, most attention should be paid to the group of the *Tikar* tribes who held their ground thanks to their system of fortified regions. (The immense territory of the entire tribe was surrounded by a wall and a ditch, and in certain cases they built several such lines of defence.) Inside the fortified regions the tribe lived by families. The families had their own huts and courtyards, and between every two such courtyards there was a cultivated strip of land, so that the population was able to earn its living even in isolation from the outside world. Besides, in view of the vast dimensions of the fortified regions, their full blockade and isolation was practically impossible. Thus, for instance, the city of Ngambe, the main settlement of a *Tikar* tribe, the *Mandingolo*, encircled by seven rings of such fortifications, succeeded in holding out against a siege of the Fulah emir, *TIBATI*, for eleven years.

The most important among the Sudanic tribes of Adamawa who fell under Fulah influence were the *Wute* and the *Baya*. Some of the Sudanic tribes of Adamawa in part fell under the influence of the Fulah, in part remained independent. Such were, for example, the *Falli* inhabiting the northern part of Adamawa, part of whose tribes — those living in the flat country — were held in subjection by the Fulah, and another part — those in the Mandara mountains — preserved their independence.

Finally, some Sudanic tribes of Adamawa, which came in the neighbourhood of the Bantu and were thus in permanent contact with them, began mixing with Bantus. The most important among the tribes of this group were the *Bafia* (or *Bapea*).

The Central Sudan States. Bornu

Late in the 18th and early in the 19th centuries Bornu was ruled by a pious, weak sultan, *AHMED* (1793—1810). In the earliest years of the 19th century, with the help of the troops of the Wadaian sultan, he defeated the sultan of Baghirmi who had risen against the supreme power of Bornu, but in 1809, after the country had weakened as the result of a raging plague, the Fulah armies (of *OTHMAN DAN FODIO*) attacked him and took even his capital city, Birni. True, the peoples of Bornu, led by a Kanemba chief, *FAKI MUHAMMAD EL-AMIN*, succeeded in expelling the Fulah from the country, but the struggle lasted many years. Under Sultan *DUNAMA* (1810—1818), the successor of *AHMED*, power actually fell in the hands of *MUHAMMAD*, who assumed the title of "sheikh" and founded a new capital, Kuka. In 1817 he had to make war upon Baghirmi which had again revolted. This war lasted seven years (1817—24), and *MUHAMMAD* won it with the help of Fezzan troops (of the Pasha of Tripoli).

After his death (1835) his son, *OMAR* (Sultan *DUNAMA*, who died in 1818, was succeeded by his son, *IBRAHIM*, whose power, however, was only nominal, like his father's), put an end to the war with the Fulah and expanded his territory to the west. But the supporters of the practically removed *IBRAHIM*, in order to restore the rule of the old dynasty, came to an agreement with the sultan of Wadai who sent his troops to overthrow *OMAR*. The Wadai troops in March 1846 defeated the forces of *OMAR* at Kuseri. *OMAR*, however, had *IBRAHIM* murdered, and continued his defensive war. When the sultan of Wadai, after plundering and burning down the capital city, withdrew his exhausted troops and proclaimed *IBRAHIM*'s son, *ALI*, sultan of Bornu, *OMAR* in the first battle (in May 1846) crushed the troops of the new sultan who fell on the battlefield. Thus the new dynasty in Bornu was consolidated, and *OMAR*, as the liberator of the country, attained great popularity. In 1853, it is true, his brother, *ABD-ER-RAHMAN*, rose in revolt against him and even removed him for a while and became the sultan; but in a matter of a few months *OMAR*, escaping from captivity, gathered his supporters and utterly defeated the troops of the usurper who could not yet consolidate his power.

After this came a long peaceful period in the history of Bornu (apart, of course, from the slave-hunting expeditions towards the south which did not stop). From 1851 on, the court of the sultan frequently received "guests" — European travellers, chiefly Germans (*BARTH*, *VOGEL*, *ROHLFS*, *NACHTIGAL* and others), under whose influence *OMAR* gave more consideration to peaceful trade contacts.

Baghirmi

The death of Sultan *MOHAMMED EL-AMIN* of Baghirmi (1785) was followed by a long period of wars (with Bornu and Wadai) and internecine struggles for about half a century. In the early 19th century *ABD-ER-RAHMAN*, son and successor of *MOHAMMED EL-AMIN*, rose against the sultan of Bornu who aspired to rule over Baghirmi and who defeated him with the help of *SABUN*, the sultan of Wadai. *ABD-ER-RAHMAN* was killed together with his wife, the country was pillaged, and the youngest son of *ABD-ER-RAHMAN* was put on the throne. He was soon overthrown by his elder brother, the heir-at-law to the throne, *OTHMAN* ("BUGOMAN" or "BURKOMANDA"), had to wage several wars with the sultan of Wadai who regarded Baghirmi as his vassal State (and also, in turn, with the partisans of his two younger brothers who pretended to the throne). Only then was he able to consolidate his power definitely by recognizing the supreme power of the sultan of Wadai to whom he obliged himself to pay annual tributes. After that he was at war with Bornu for seven years (1817—24) (as we have seen above), and later he waged several wars with the Fulah. There were, of course, conflicts with the sultan of Wadai. Besides, both *OTHMAN* and his successor regularly sent expeditions for slaves to the south.

The clashes with Wadai, as well as the slave-hunting expeditions continued also in the reign of *ABD-EL-KADIR* (1845—58) who was killed while fighting a caravan of pilgrims trying to traverse Baghirmi territory under a Fulah chief despite the interdiction of the sultan.

His son and successor, *MUHAMMAD*, tried to shake off the yoke of Wadai, as a result of which the sultan of Wadai launched a campaign against the country, besieged and took the capital city, Massénya (1870). *MUHAMMAD* was forced to flee to the south, while the sultan of Wadai occupied the country, took away a rich booty and forcibly settled 30,000 Baghirmi craftsmen in Wadai, the result being that the trades in Baghirmi declined considerably.

Wadai

Sultan ABD-EL-KERIM SABUN of Wadai (1803—12), as we have seen above, at the very beginning of the 19th century subjected Baghirmi to his influence. In his reign Wadai established trade contacts with Tripoli and Egypt. To spur trading activity SABUN regularly sent expeditions for slaves to the south.

His son and successor, YUSUF HARIFAIN (1812—28), was what all sources called a "cruel tyrant" and is said to have been slain upon his mother's urging. His minor son, RAKEB, ruled but a year and a half,¹ upon which the throne was occupied by an offspring of another lineage of the sultan's dynasty, Prince ABD-EL-AZIZ (1830—34), elected by the mountain tribes (Kodoi). His reign was all but a period of wars against other pretenders to the throne. He was succeeded by his minor son, ADAM. During the one year of his rule (1835) the country was suffering from famine. Making use of the weak position of the country, the Darfurian sultan put on the throne of Wadai MUHAMMAD SALEH (or MUHAMMAD SHERIF) who had once fled from Wadai to Darfur (1835—68). The first half of his reign was marked by successful campaigns against independent tribes and countries (Karka, Tama, etc.). These wars brought him and Wadai much booty and even territorial expansion. In 1846, as we have seen above, the Wadaian sultan interfered in the affairs of Bornu and led a campaign against Sheikh OMAR, whom at first he defeated, but later he was compelled to retreat, contenting himself with an indemnity of 8,000 (Austrian) thalers. The last few years of the reign of MUHAMMAD SALEH, who became blind in his old age, passed in endless domestic strifes with supporters of ex-sultan ADAM (who had been taken to Darfur as a "captive of honour") and with his own son, MUHAMMAD. During these wars MUHAMMAD SALEH transferred his seat from Vara to Abeshr.

He was succeeded on the throne by ALI² (1858—75), his second son, who reverted to the policy of SABUN, endeavouring to expand trade. He established trade contacts — in addition to Bornu and Baghirmi — with Darfur, Egypt and Tripoli, created caravan communication with the Mediterranean coast and took part himself in the outfitting of caravans and in commercial transactions. Besides slaves (to this end expeditions were still sent to the south), the main articles of export were ostrich feathers and ivory.

Mention has been made in another place of ALI's campaign against Baghirmi (1870), as a result of which (in addition to rich booty and regular tribute) the handicraft industry of Baghirmi was transferred to Wadai.

Independent Tribes of the Central Sudan

The independent tribes that were not included in the Central Sudan States in this period had to wage fierce struggles for independence. Slave-raiding expeditions from Bornu, Baghirmi and Wadai multiplied. These were not small parties of slave-hunters but large and well-equipped military detachments. At the same time these free Central Sudan tribes had to face a new danger — subjection by the Fulah, whose campaigns of conquest were reaching into the regions lying south and southwest of Lake Chad.

¹ Some sources say he died of smallpox (BARTH), according to others, he was killed by the partisans of ABD-EL-AZIZ.

² He was considered the heir-at-law, while MUHAMMAD's first son was by law excluded from the right of succession, since he was born by a foreign woman (a Fulah woman from Kordofan).

The *Musgu* tribes, which stubbornly rejected both the Moslem propaganda of the Fulah and the Bornuese attempts at conquest, sustained enormous losses, the more so because there was no unity among them, and simultaneously with the struggle against the aliens they were constantly engaged in internecine wars. Nevertheless, they submitted neither to the Fulah nor to Bornu and preserved their independence.

The majority of the *Kotoko* cities were subjugated by Bornu, but the largest of them, Karnak-Logone (Logone-Birmi), remained independent because it paid tribute to Bornu and Baghirmi simultaneously.

Some of the *Mandara* tribes became dependent upon Bornu, while others, driven off their fertile plains and tablelands, settled on the mountain slopes where they built villages like forts, and took to agriculture and cattle-raising on small plots among rocks and stones, protecting their land from flood waters by clay walls. Again others, which remained in the flat country and on the plateaus, built shelters inaccessible to the enemy, where in the case of emergency, at a given signal, they hid the women and children together with their cattle.

The *Gamergu* tribes safeguarded their independence, but those of them living near the caravan routes adopted Mohammedanism.

The *Yedina* (Budduma) who inhabited the islands of Lake Chad accommodated themselves to the conquering aspirations of the Bornuese sultans in a peculiar way: they recognized the power of the sultan of Bornu in order to have access to the market of Kuka, but from time to time made plundering raids into the villages on the shore and then hid themselves with their booty in the labyrinths of their islands. With some of the coastal settlements they maintained amicable relations in order to trade with them and also to have refuge in time of flood.

Anglo-French Struggle on the West Coast during the French Revolution

The struggle of Great Britain and France for the West African colonies that began already in the seventies of the 18th century became especially violent in the years of the Great French Revolution. This is accounted for, on the one hand, by the general boom in British colonial policies and, on the other, by that general hostility that lasted between those two powers through the entire period of the French Revolution.

Great Britain became particularly active after the formation in 1791 of the British "Sierra Leone Company". In the same year agents of the company founded in Sierra Leone a new settlement, Granville town. A year later, in 1792, Sierra Leone received 1,131 liberated slaves, and Freetown was established. No sooner could the company begin to organize the colonial economy it had envisaged than the entire city was destroyed when a French squadron attacked it unexpectedly in 1794. The loss of the company amounted to more than 40,000 pounds sterling. All had to be started anew.

Two years later, in 1796, the company was confronted with new difficulties: the colonists (former slaves), exasperated by the regime of the company, rose in revolt and virtually overthrew the rule of the company and created an autonomous democratic government. The revolt was crushed, its leader executed, and all the ex-slaves who had come from Nova Scotia were compelled to move from Freetown to Granville town. In 1800 the colony received an additional 500 colonists — free "Maroon Negroes" (rebels hiding in the forests) expelled from Jamaica.

From 1800 to 1814 there was an almost uninterrupted armed struggle between Great Britain and France in Senegal. During this period Goree, St. Louis and other

forts of the colony changed hands several times. The final victory was won by the British. But, by the peace treaties of 1814–15, all the former French possessions were restored to France. They were in fact evacuated and then occupied by France again in 1817. At that time, by virtue of the same treaties, France regained her former station at Albreda, in Gambia.

The Travels of Mungo Park

While at war with France, Great Britain proceeded to explore the hinterland of the west coast in preparation of further conquests. The first serious exploration of the interior of West Africa (of the countries situated around the upper reaches of the three biggest West African rivers: Senegal, Gambia and Niger) was made in 1795–96 by the Scotsman MUNGO PARK who had been recruited for the task by the "African Association" in London. In 1805 he set out on his second journey to explore the entire course of the Niger, but the expedition failed and ended in the death of the brave traveller and almost all of his companions.

Anglo-French Expansion in West Africa from 1815 to 1850

After 1814 there was no more conflict between Great Britain and France in West Africa until the middle of the century. Both powers were engaged in consolidating and expanding their existing possessions and in preparing for new conquests by exploring territories of the interior continent. During the first half of the century Great Britain considerably expanded her possessions in Gambia and Sierra Leone. France expanded her colonies in Senegal and set up several trading stations and military bases on the Ivory Coast.

In the field of exploration Great Britain paid particular attention to the regions of the Niger and Benue Rivers, and sent out expeditions one after another, while France showed interest in the regions of the Gambia and Senegal Rivers. The most significant British expeditions were those of OUDNEY, CLAPPERTON and DENHAM (1822–25) and the LANDER brothers (1824–31); and among the French those of MOLLIER (1817), DE BEAUFORT (1818, 1824–25) and RENÉ CAILLIÉ (1827).

Mention has already been made of the travels of RICHARD LANDER and RENÉ CAILLIÉ, and here we shall give a brief summary of the most important British expedition, that of OUDNEY, CLAPPERTON and DENHAM.

The expedition led by three British agents, the naturalist OUDNEY and army officers CLAPPERTON and DENHAM, starting from Tripoli and traversing the Sahara, in 1823 penetrated into the countries of Kano and Bornu, and discovered Lake Chad. In December 1823 OUDNEY and CLAPPERTON set out to explore the Niger River. OUDNEY died at the very beginning of the travel on January 12, 1824. DENHAM remained in Bornu and, after receiving reinforcement in the person of Lieutenant TOOLE, who was going the same way with his second expedition, in the course of half a year (January–July 1824) thoroughly explored the east and south shore of Lake Chad and discovered the Shari River. TOOLE died of fever already on February 28. In May DENHAM again received reinforcement: there arrived another auxiliary expedition under the command of TYRWHITT. After the journey was accomplished, TYRWHITT remained at Kuka as British consul, but died of fever within a year.

DENHAM returned to England together with CLAPPERTON who was coming back from his travel to Sokoto. DENHAM was higher in rank than CLAPPERTON and came back from his expedition with results highly valuable for the sciences and the government, while the CLAPPERTON expedition was politically unsuccessful, and supplied no kind of scientific information, what is more, the three volumes on the adventures of both expeditions were the result of DENHAM's work. Irrespective of all this CLAPPERTON was promoted and granted facilities to start a new journey in a few months, and DENHAM was appointed (virtually exiled) to the post of secretary to the colony of Sierra Leone and became later superintendent of the slave settlement at Fernando Po, where he soon died of fever. An explanation of these happenings may be found in the fact that DENHAM in his report to the government made known his negative attitude towards the plans of conquest of the British government, although his views were not definitely expressed but could be understood from many parts of his work.

Neither these explorations nor the "peaceful" expansion of the existing possessions (usually through fraudulent "agreements" concluded with tribal chiefs) in this period led to any big clashes with African peoples. These, in most cases, were not yet aware of the significance of the events. An exception to this rule was the *Ashanti* people in the hinterland of the British Gold Coast colony and some tribes of Senegal in the region of the lower course of the Senegal River which offered resolute resistance to the invading alien aggressors.

Sierra Leone and Gambia

Sierra Leone, which the British government in 1807 took over from the Sierra Leone Company and made a crown colony, in the course of ten years (1814–24) received over 12,000 liberated slaves from North America. Until 1827 the colony was constantly expanded by acquiring new territories from local chiefs, and new settlements around Freetown were established one after another. In 1821, when the "African Company of Merchants" was wound up, Gold Coast Colony — which had until then been administered by that company — was also made a crown colony and united with Sierra Leone under the common denomination "Colony of the West African Settlements" which included Gambia as well.

Gambia also expanded gradually by obtaining "concessions" from local chiefs. In 1807 it was proclaimed "crown colony" and, as such, united with Sierra Leone. In 1816 British merchants founded the city of Bathurst. On Yanyambure Island (McCarthy's Island) on the Gambia River, at a distance of 180 miles from Bathurst the city of Georgetown was founded in the early forties as a trading centre and garrison. In 1843 Gambia was detached from Sierra Leone and made a separate administration.

Unlike the "peaceful" development and growth of the British colonies in Gambia and Sierra Leone, the English colonizers of the Gold Coast had to use every effort to hold their position.

The Struggle of the Ashanti with Great Britain in the First Half of the 19th Century

On the Gold Coast the British colonizers had to wage war four times in quick succession (1807, 1814, 1816, 1821–26) against the *Ashanti* people who fought not only for their independence but for the expulsion of the European intruders from

the entire Gold Coast and for the unification of all its peoples under Ashanti rule. The British suffered defeat after defeat. Twice (1807, 1817) they had to conclude peace and recognize not only the independence of Ashanti but also its sovereignty over the coastal region where the British settlement was situated.

The fourth war, which broke out because of the unprovoked denouncement of the standing agreement by the British governor, lasted five years. At first the British were defeated. The British governor of the West African settlements, McCARTHY, was killed on the battlefield. In 1826, true, the British succeeded, with the assistance of the Dutch and Danes and by bribing certain coastal tribes, in defeating the Ashanti troops, but this victory cost Britain very much, and the British government realized that subjecting the Ashanti to its influence was out of question.

The British came to a compromise. They evacuated their garrisons (1827) and handed over their settlements to a committee of London merchants (1828).

From 1830 onwards the Ashanti people were ruled by a farsighted politician and talented organizer, the paramount chief, KWAKU DUA (1830—67). He became aware that in the face of the British guns he could not safeguard the sovereignty of Ashanti over the coastal tribes and the British colony. In 1831, therefore, he concluded a treaty of peace with Great Britain, by which Ashanti waived its rights to the coast in exchange for confirmation by Britain of the full sovereignty of Ashanti.

A period of calm that followed (1831—50) enabled the British to consolidate their power over the coast by strengthening their influence among the coastal tribes (Fanti, etc.) hostile to the Ashanti, but it also enabled KWAKU DUA to prepare his people for the new struggle.

In 1843 the colony was again taken over by the British government as part of the "West African Settlements", but in 1850 it was made an independent administration. In the same year Denmark ceded to Great Britain all her possessions on the Gold Coast.

France in Senegal from 1815 to 1850

Remaining after 1815 exclusive masters of the Senegal colony, the French began expanding their possessions and organizing the colonial economy. As far as expansion was concerned, they scored some successes: they concluded several agreements with local chiefs in the region of Dakar (1826, 1830, 1832) and with the sultans of Futa and Gallam (1838—42) who ceded to them new territories and granted them commercial privileges. On the other hand, in the north of the colony, in the region of St. Louis and the lower course of the Senegal, they not only were unable to expand their possessions, but for half a century they had four times to repel (1826, 1830, 1832, 1843) the liberating campaigns of the Moslem tribes living in the regions adjoining the then French possession in St. Louis (the Walo, Tukolor and Fulah on the left bank and the Mauritanian tribes on the right bank of the Senegal River) who conducted their campaigns under the slogan of a "sacred war against the foreigners."

As regards the economic development of the colony, there were no results for half a century. In 1842 a new company was formed for the economic exploitation of the colony, but attempts to organize the colonial economy (the growing of cotton, indigo, coffee, etc.) ended in complete failure and were abandoned already in the thirties. On the other hand, the maintenance of the colonial administration (the colony saw

the succession of 32 governors between 1817 and 1851!) and the bribing of tribal chiefs proved so costly that it all led to a complete financial crash. In 1848 the "Senegal Company" was compelled to declare bankruptcy and was wound up.

British Expansion from 1850 to 1870

From about 1850 Britain considerably intensified her expansionist activity in West Africa.

In the course of twenty years (1850—70) she largely expanded her colonies in Gambia and Sierra Leone. In 1857 she made France definitively abandon Gambia (in exchange for the British trading posts in Senegal).

In 1850 Great Britain had purchased all Danish possessions on the Gold Coast and then renewed her attempts to subjugate the Ashanti, but without success. She was again defeated in her fifth (1853) and sixth (1863) wars with the Ashanti. What is more, she had to face some "complications" even with the tribes she held in subjection in her small coastal colony. The introduction in the forties of British jurisdiction over Africans gave rise to discontent among the latter. And when in the fifties the colonial administration began to levy a hut tax upon the Africans, this resulted in the uprising of a number of coastal tribes. In the end, the law on taxation had to be nullified in 1866. (The Gold Coast was the only colony in Africa where direct taxation could not be instituted until 1934.) In 1867 Britain succeeded in coming to terms with Holland which then ceded to the British part of the Dutch possessions on the Gold Coast.

Besides expanding their West African possessions, the British colonizers set themselves the task of acquiring further territories. In 1862, interfering in the internecine struggle of the peoples of Lagos on the Slave Coast, they bombarded the city of Lagos, removed the local chief and replaced him with a puppet of their own (AKROYE) whom they compelled to conclude with them a treaty on the "liquidation of the slave trade." And in ten years, under the pretext of the treaty having been violated, they forced the son and successor of their own puppet (King DOCEMO) to sell them the island and port of Lagos with its environs for an annual rent of 1,200 sacks of cockle-shells. This was the origin of the British colony of Nigeria with a population of over 20 million.

French Expansion from 1850 to 1870

In the fifties and sixties France was even more active in West Africa than was Great Britain. In 1854 the bankrupt Senegal colony received a new governor, General FAIDHERBE, who had far-reaching plans of conquest. To begin with, he decided to subdue, on the north of the colony, the Mauritanian tribes which had not yielded to the French rule and had made several attempts to expel the French. These tribes stubbornly resisted, and FAIDHERBE had to fight against them for four years (1854—58) to subjugate them finally.

In 1857 FAIDHERBE repelled the attack of the sultan of Futa Toro, AL-HAJI OMAR, who wanted to expel the French with his army of 20,000. But FAIDHERBE was unable to defeat OMAR. Without suffering substantial losses, OMAR withdrew with his army into the heart of the Western Sudan and in a few years (1859—63)

succeeded in uniting under his rule a number of countries (Segu, Macina, Bambuk, Timbuktu, etc.). In 1863 OMAR was killed in a fight against insurgents in the Macina country, but the great Fulah State he had created survived under his successor, AHMADU-BIN-TIDIANI.

From 1858 to 1860, partly by force and partly by "peace treaties" with local chiefs, FAIDHERBE considerably extended the boundaries of the colony, after taking possession of Dakar, Rufisque, Portudal, Jaol, Kaolack and the indigenous countries of Tono and Danga, and established the French protectorate over Baoulé, Sine and Salum.

The only country where FAIDHERBE could not achieve much was Cayor. In the beginning (1858—59) FAIDHERBE, it is true, defeated the troops of the sultan of Cayor and compelled him to sign an agreement on a concession for the setting up of a telegraph line, but his people immediately dethroned the sultan because of his agreement with the French. His successor, Sultan MAKADU, denounced the agreement and in 1861 led against the French two heroic wars of liberation. After defeating him, FAIDHERBE virtually occupied the country and put on the throne of the sultan a tribal chief whom he had bought over. But then the peoples of Cayor joined forces under the command of LAT-DIOR, an 18-year-old former pupil of the French school set up for the sons of chiefs, overthrew the puppet of France and restored the independence of the country.

Then followed another military campaign of FAIDHERBE (1862). His puppet was again made sultan, and the country was officially occupied by France. LAT-DIOR had several times been "utterly defeated", but every time he was able to recover and gather new forces. The country was several times again "occupied" by France, but every time it soon found itself under the rule of LAT-DIOR. Neither FAIDHERBE nor his successor, PINAY LAPRADE (1865—69), could break down LAT-DIOR's resistance. The latter attained that in 1870 France was obliged to recognize officially the independence of Cayor with him as the sultan.

Simultaneously with conquests, FAIDHERBE was dealing with administrative reforms and with the development of the colonial economy. He resumed cotton and indigo production, promoted the production of peanuts by the Africans, built roads and created telegraphic communication between various stations, opened a French school for the sons of tribal chiefs and a printing press for the publication of a French newspaper, etc. Besides, he regularly sent exploring expeditions into the interior of the country.

In this period France began to prepare for further conquests in other regions of West Africa, too. Thus, in the territory of the present-day Republic of Guinea, from 1857 to 1866 a number of "agreements" were concluded with local tribal chiefs concerning territorial concessions. In 1864, unaware of the death of OMAR, France sent into the Western Sudan a military mission under Captain MAGE to offer OMAR the "friendship" of France and make an agreement to the effect that the French should be granted the freedom of trade in his territories. MAGE reached Segu, was upheld by OMAR's nephew, AHMADU, and lived there as a captive for two years. But in the end he achieved his aim and in 1866 returned with a trade agreement signed by AHMADU.

From the middle of the century onwards, France began to establish herself on the coast of Dahomey. In 1851 the French concluded with King GEZO of Dahomey a treaty on trade and peaceful relations. Afterwards they gradually subjugated several small coast tribes and took a number of places on the coast (Porto-Novo, Cotonu). The local chief of Porto-Novo was compelled to sign a "treaty of peace" in which

he recognized the French protectorate. In 1868 they coaxed GLÉGLÉ, the new king of Dahomey, into a "treaty" ceding the coastal region to France.

German Penetration into West Africa

The power rivalry in West Africa was joined by the Germans in the middle of the 19th century. German merchants, mainly from Hamburg and Bremen, had participated in the West African trade also before. They had many trading factories in the West African colonies of other countries, as well as in Liberia and in many other regions unoccupied yet by European powers, especially in the region of the Bight of Biafra. They exported into West Africa — besides textile products — mainly spirits and arms. The German trade began to flourish especially from 1849, when agents of a big trading firm from Hamburg, the famous House of Woermann, appeared on the west coast and established trading posts one after another.

The Germans were also very active in organizing big explorations into the interior of West Africa. After the first British attempts to penetrate into the Western Sudan (DENHAM, CLAPPERTON, the LANDER brothers) the initiative and the leading role in the exploration of the Western and Central Sudan fell into the hands of Germans. The first great German travellers in the Western Sudan, BARTH (1850—55), OVERWEG (1850—52) and VOGEL (1854—56), began to work in the service and at the expense of the British government. OVERWEG died, but BARTH and VOGEL, whom the British government virtually had left to the mercy of fate, continued their explorations at their own risk and expense. Both travellers made valuable additions to scientific knowledge. At the same time they awakened the interest and activity of the German government. Following in the wake of BARTH and VOGEL, two great German travellers, ROHLFS (1862—64) and NACHTIGAL (1869—74) — though both were scientific men (doctors of medicine) and gave in their works a great deal of valuable information to the scientific world — were already direct German agents commissioned to find out the chances of German colonial conquests in West Africa.

Origin of Liberia

The coast of present-day Liberia received but occasional visits of slave dealers, but there was no kind of European or American settlement there. The "American Colonization Society" formed in America in 1816 set itself the task of repatriating to West Africa the American Negroes whom their proprietors had liberated or who had escaped from them. The first settlement of American Negroes in the territory of present-day Liberia — Monrovia — was established by the society in 1821.

The American Colonization Society was founded by rich Americans with a view to getting rid of the liberated slaves. The free Negroes were to the rich American slaveholders the most "undesirable" and "restless" elements. Ex-slaves helped the Negro slaves to escape or to raise the purchase money to buy their freedom, and their own cheap free labour made superfluous the forced labour of slaves. The first concrete proposal to create a special organization for the establishment of a colony for freed slaves was made as early as 1800 at a secret meeting of representatives of the State of Virginia, whose governor was JAMES MONROE (later President of the United States). This was not long after an uprising of slaves, led by GABRIEL PROSSER, had been put down by Governor MONROE. Dozens of Negroes were executed and many

others thrown into jail. The representatives drafted a plan of colonization in order to rid their State of those liberated Negroes who were still at large. They began advocating the "colonization", that is, the deportation of free Negroes from America. But the Negroes themselves were fully aware that the point was not in assistance to the free Negroes, who could easily take jobs in America, but on the contrary, the aim was to prevent the Negroes from the possibility of living and working in America as free citizens. The majority of the Negroes vehemently protested against deportation to Africa. Here is what they wrote in one of their protests:¹

"We were stolen from our mother country and brought here. We have tilled the ground and made fortunes for thousands, and still they are not weary of our services. But they who stay to till the ground must be slaves. Is there not land enough in America . . . ? Why should they send us into a far country to die? See the thousands of foreigners emigrating to America every year: and if there be ground sufficient for them to cultivate, and bread for them to eat, why would they wish to send the first tillers of the land away? . . . This land which we have watered with our tears and our blood is now our mother country, and we are well satisfied to stay . . ."

The Negro masses composed a special song which they were singing all over America at the time. The first stanza was as follows:²

Great God, if the humble and weak are as dear
To thy love as the proud, to thy children give ear!
Our brethren would drive us in deserts to roam;
Forgive them, O Father, and keep us at home.
Home, sweet home!
We have no other; this is our home.³

True, no measures of coercion were applied to expel the free Negroes from America. Those who left did so of their own free will. But these were either adventurers or ignorant people misled by the hypocritical propaganda of the advocates of colonization.

The American Colonization Society bought a few plots of land for the Negro colonists in the place of today's Monrovia, and in 1821 the first settlement of American Negroes was set up and named "Monrovia" after the then President of the United States of America, JAMES MONROE (the author of the famous "Monroe doctrine" saying: "America for the Americans").

The plots of land were bought for a few dollars and a few barrels of rum. But before the colonists could occupy them, the African tribal chief who had sold them changed his mind, for he had already convinced himself of the danger of making deals with the alien newcomers, and wanted to give back the full purchase price. The Americans (white and black alike), however, stood firm and, with the help of another tribal chief whom they had bribed for the purpose, compelled him to submit. Thus it was that the founding of the colony took place against the will of the local African population.

In the course of the four decades that lasted from the foundation of Monrovia until the abolition of slavery and the liberation of the Negroes in the United States (1861)

¹ See B. BRAWLEY, *A Social History of the American Negro* (New York, 1921), p. 159.

² *Ibid.*, p. 160.

³ The American slaveholders, in order to keep their slaves in subjection, taught them the religious spirit. Hence the pious tone of the song.

about 19,000 liberated Negroes were transported from America to Liberia. They settled down with the help of the American government against the opposition of the local tribes, with whom they had to wage quite a few battles. The biggest clashes in this period were the war with the Gola and Deh tribes (1832), the uprising in Grand Bassa province which was suppressed with the help of an American cruiser (1852), and the war with the Grebo tribe (1856).

The colonists of Liberia established a whole series of settlements which in 1837 all (except Maryland) united under a central administration. Then in July 1847 the congress of American Negroes, inhabitants of all these settlements, held in Monrovia proclaimed Liberia an independent republic and adopted a "Declaration of Independence" and a "Constitution" of Liberia. The independence of the Republic of Liberia was immediately recognized by Great Britain and France, and somewhat later by the United States of America (1862). In 1857 the republic was joined by Maryland.

The American Negroes who established themselves in Liberia originally as toiling colonists soon turned into oppressors and exploiters of the local backward peoples and, gradually withdrawing from the working occupations, became parasites living at the expense of the indigenous peoples.

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CHAPTER III

WEST AND CENTRAL EQUATORIAL AFRICA

THE PEOPLES OF THE CONGO IN THE 19TH CENTURY (UP TO 1870)

At the beginning of the 19th century the European powers decided to liquidate the traffic in slave and began to persecute it. This resulted in its gradual disappearing.

The Congo Countries

In the regions of West Equatorial Africa under Portuguese domination the slave trade, as we shall see, disappeared later and at a slower pace than in other coastal regions of West Africa. But already in the first half of the 19th century, and especially from the middle of the century onwards, the great change in world politics and in the concrete economic aspirations of the European colonizers began gradually manifest itself in the domestic development of African societies, too. In the coastal countries of the Congo (Angola) the disappearance of the European slave trade gave rise to certain interior, economic and social, transformations. The ruling strata of society in these countries ("kings", chiefs, the big slave dealers) became, owing to the traffic in slaves, privileged groups of parasitic exploiters. With the liquidation of the slave trade they lost the very foundations of their well-being of exploiters. Having lost the main source of their unearned income, they tried all ways and means to find new sources and new methods of exploiting the labour of others. The former African slave dealers little by little became commission merchants, agents of European commercial firms established for the purchase of colonial products and the sale of European commodities. The African "kings", "princes" and big tribal chiefs gradually switched over from the exploitation of slaves (who almost exclusively came from alien tribes) to the exploitation of their own tribesmen in the feudal manner (corvée, tributes). They secured another source of unearned income by collecting taxes for the Europeans and, in places where the Portuguese had begun to establish plantations, by recruiting manpower for a consideration. At the same time many of them were engaged in commission business.

Along with these economic changes went also a change in the very character of the State organization of the Congo countries. Although slavery and the slave trade were fairly wide-spread in them, they were not divided into classes until the 19th century had begun. True, the exploitation of slaves (chiefly from alien tribes) was developed by certain members of their societies, but the basis of the economic life of society was, as before, the free labour of the tribesmen, while the power of the "kings" and chiefs still rested upon authority, not violence. The rulers wielded this "power" not as exploiters but as elected representatives and defenders of the inter-

ests of the whole society. With the formation of class groups of exploiters (feudal lords and merchants) went the formation of elements of the feudal statehood which was to a great extent dependent upon the colonial authorities of the Portuguese.

Tribes of the Inland Regions

The abolition of the slave trade affected also the life of the interior tribes of the Congo which had suffered most of all from the human traffic. But the "wind of change" did not at all deliver them from their suffering. The fact is that the breath of new times at first did not reach far beyond the coastal regions. The slave-trading factories had long disappeared from the coastal settlements, but the "black hunt" still went on at full speed in the heart of the continent, in the regions of the Congo River and its numerous tributaries. In the countries most inaccessible to Europeans, it was now the easiest thing of all for European slave merchants (and their Arab competitors) to continue their—now illicit—business with the assistance of African middle-men. Thus it was that until the seventies of the past century there was no change for the better in the situation of the tribes of the Congo basin; on the contrary, the horrors of the slave trade were increasing because of its contraband character.

The Manyema

The penetration of Arab slave dealers into the regions of the upper and middle Congo had different effects on the development of the various tribes who lived there. Some of them proved to be quite unprepared for any serious self-defence and suffered enormous losses in lives, and many were sold as slaves. A typical example is the peaceable and industrious¹ *Manyema* tribe, which at the end of the period under review (in the eighteen-sixties and seventies) was for the most part exterminated by the Arabs.

The Warua

The situation was different, for example, for the southern neighbours of the *Manyema*, the *Warua* tribe, which, having much to suffer from frequent plundering attacks on the part of its own king, the princes and various chiefs, had long found many methods of self-defence, or rather, means of slipping away from their onslaughts. And in the struggle against the Arab slave dealers, they further improved their methods of self-defence. In certain places the villages were built in impenetrable forest glades, accessible only on all fours through long secret passages. In the small lake Morua

¹ If formerly many authors described the *Manyema* as warlike and cruel savages, this was due to the false information spread about them by Arab slave merchants and certain European travellers (STANLEY, etc.). This description was based on the man-eating habits of the *Manyema*. LIVINGSTONE found out, however, that the *Manyema* had no "predilection for human flesh" and did not make wars for the sake of cannibalism, but in war they used to eat the enemy out of revenge. They were skilful craftsmen, made metal articles (mainly spears and swords), clay utensils, ornaments and colour-fast textiles of grass. Their houses were built of wood and clay, and they constructed strong liana bridges.

the *Warua* built a lake settlement of houses on stilts, and in the great lake Kassali they lived on floating islands made for the purpose. The lake dwellers used to go ashore to till the land and graze the goats. The work in the fields was done by the women, while the men were on the watch. And finally, on the Mutumbo and Kunde-Irunde hills, many *Warua*, together with their livestock, lived in large underground caves which, altogether 36 kilometres long, constituted a vast underground city with thousands of passages and many exits in different directions; in one place even a brook traversed the caves.

The Bemba

There were tribes which, in the struggle with Arab slave merchants, learned the art of plundering and killing the weaker ones themselves. Thus, for example, the *Bemba* tribe, whose fortified villages occupied much of the tableland between the southern tip of Lake Tanganyika, the northern shore of Lake Nyasa and lakes Mweru and Bangweulu, in the 19th century engaged in the traffic in slaves and ivory under Arab influence. They organized marauding expeditions with the result that many tribes who lived in that territory became tributary to the *Bemba*, while other tribes were exterminated. The men were slain, their heads cut, the women and children sold as slaves. In contrast to other tribes, the *Bemba* conducted their raids in the dead of night.

Tribes of the Intermediate Regions

The situation was relatively more favourable to the tribes of those intermediate regions between the west coast and the Congo basin which were too far west for the Arabs and yet not near enough the coast for the Europeans to intrude upon. In many such regions there lived, in relatively peaceful conditions, tribes engaged in intertribal trade. Such were the *Bateke* in the region of the upper reaches of the Alima, Ogowe, etc. rivers and on the left bank of the Congo north of the mouth of the Kasai River; the *Bubangi* on the right bank of the Ubangi River; the *Bangala* around the middle course of the Congo, etc. The *Bubangi* developed even a monetary system of their own: 1 *mitako* (bar of brass) = 10 *mukata* (brass spirals) = a certain amount of cockles.

The Kioko

From the middle of the century onwards, the *Kioko* or *Chiokwe* tribe displayed great economic activity in the heart of Angola, in the region of the upper reaches of the Kasai River and its left-bank affluents. They had migrated there from the tablelands between the sources of the Kwanza and Kwango Rivers. Besides agriculture, they were good at hunting (they were skilful pathfinders), smelting iron and extracting coal, making iron and wicker articles, and were especially smart and resourceful in trade. They led a seminomadic life, possessed settlements among other tribes (*Baluba*, *Bakongo*, *Balunda*, etc.), but most of the *Kioko* were constantly on the move with trading or hunting expeditions.

The Mangbattu and the Azande

Two great peoples in the region between the Congo and the Nile: the *Mangbattu* and the *Azande* suffered least of all from the horrors of the slave trade, or rather, remained completely untouched by the curse of the human traffic. This fact can by no means be considered a result of their geographical situations, since we know that their immediate neighbours, the Bongo and the Dinka, were among the most afflicted. The cause of their living undisturbed can be found, on the one hand, in their large numbers¹ and, on the other, in their social organization; their tribes were united in large tribal alliances.

The Mangbattu tribes were united in two great tribal alliances. Each of them was headed by a "king", who had the monopolistic right to ivory and to the export of copper, and received shares of the harvest from his subjects. He had a whole court of dignitaries: "master of armour", warder of the royal wives, chef of the "royal cuisine", etc.). The emblem of power was a crescent-shaped sabre. Besides the residence of the king, there were no villages; the settlements consisted of a few houses built at a certain distance from one another (usually in some verdurous place). All work (except hunting and armour-making) was done by women who, however, were socially equal to men: they could even be chieftainesses.

Every one of the Azande tribes had a chief of its own, yet the tribes were united in a federation with a paramount ("sultan") at its head. The different tribes were as a rule separated from one another by some water course. The tribal chief was the military commander and the executor of death sentences. The title of chief was hereditary. The chief received part of the ivory and game the huntsmen carried home, and he possessed much land. The chiefs had absolute power, but wore no kind of distinctive marks except a leopard's skin, and any kind of pomp was alien to them. The chiefs had the right to sell their tribesmen into slavery, but part of the receipts were given to the relatives of the person sold. Various parts of the tribal territory (provinces or districts) were governed by the sons or brothers of the chief. All chiefs were descendants of a special stock of chiefs (*avungara*) and were considered issue of a legendary ancestor-chief who, according to tradition, had created the Azande federation. They lived in polygamy, but the women were not bought, and the man who wished to marry appealed to the chief who chose a bride for him.

Much has been written about both peoples being inveterate cannibals. Indeed, man-eating in the Mangbattu tribes once was a deep-rooted custom: they organized campaigns for human flesh, which they even held in stock. On the other hand, in the Azande tribes, though their neighbours called them "Nyam-nyam" (which name is often met in European literature), that is, "gluttons", man-eating had the character of a religious ritual (the victorious tribes ate the flesh of the vanquished enemy).

The Lunda countries

The Lunda countries remained almost completely unaffected by the European influence until the seventies of the 19th century. As early as the end of the 18th century these countries also were penetrated by random explorers, mainly Portuguese

¹ We cannot say for sure how many they were at the beginning of the 19th century, but it is certain that by the end of the century the Mangbattu numbered around one million, and the Azande about two million.

(LACERDA in 1798,¹ POMBEIROS in 1806, MONTEIRO and GAMITTO in 1831–32, SILVA PORTO in 1852–53); and from other nations, e.g., the Hungarian LÁSZLÓ MAGYAR in 1849–51, LIVINGSTONE in 1854. In the conditions of the contraband slave trade, as it was practised in the neighbouring regions by (Portuguese and Arab) slave dealers and their agents, the Lunda countries in the 19th century were drawn into the slave trade, and slaves appeared in many regions of these countries where formerly there had been none. For the presence of slaves and the slave trade in the Lunda countries in the period under discussion, just as in the Congo countries during the preceding period, did not yet give rise to major changes in the socio-economic system and the social organization. The old foundations of the ancestral system and tribalism remained untouched. (European travellers of even the eighties, for example, found the institution of the "Lukoksha"² well preserved.) In contrast to the Congo countries, the Lunda State formations also preserved their independence from the authorities of the European colonies established on the coast.

The Fang Tribes

One important moment in the history of the peoples of West Equatorial Africa in this period was the migration of a large group of *Fang* (Mpongwe) tribes, which throughout the entire period were constantly on the move from the inland regions to the coast and from the south to the north, pushing aside other peoples, and by the end of the period occupied their present-day country—the northwest region of Gabon between the Ogowe River and the southern frontier of Spanish Guinea, as well as the southwest corner of the Cameroons. Before their final settling they were mainly trapper hunters, and were engaged also in armour-making and trade. They, too, were widely described as inveterate cannibals, but the use of human flesh in their tribes actually had the character of religious rites. Some of their tribes used to build two villages each—one in the open, in a place appropriate for commercial contacts (usually on the bank of some river), and the other hidden in a forest and surrounded by traps, etc.

Portuguese Possessions in Equatorial Africa after the Abolition of the Slave Trade

To the Portuguese colonies of the lower Guinea coast, whose profitability was based wholly upon the traffic in slaves, the prohibition of the slave trade was a very painful blow. It is true, the slave trade did not come to an end at once. The Paris treaty of 1815 prohibited the Portuguese slave trade only to the north of the Equator, so that the export of slaves from Angola continued legally. For the final termination of the slave trade the Portuguese were granted delays, first until 1823, then until 1830. The fact of the matter is that Portugal prohibited the export of slaves from her colonies as late as 1836, after she had received from great Britain a "compensation" of £200,000; the practice of slavery in the Portuguese possessions was maintained legally until 1878.

Despite official prohibition, the slave trade continued for a long while illegally, in the form of slave smuggling. This, however, involved great risks and sometimes

¹ See p. 249.

² See pp. 64–65.

even enormous losses. Moreover, it was obvious that it should be abandoned sooner or later. From the very beginning of the 19th century, therefore, the Portuguese colonizers were searching for new methods of reaping profits from the African colonies. First of all, they endeavoured to develop other branches of the African trade, to expand the export of products from the African countries. With this end in view they began organizing exploratory expeditions. Already in the first few years of the 19th century a number of attempts were made to establish intercourse with the Lunda countries and through them to join the Portuguese colonies of the west and the east coast (Angola and Mozambique). The first attempts remained unsuccessful, but in the thirties and forties some Portuguese expeditions actually reached the Lunda countries and came into contact with them, and in 1853 the Portuguese SILVA PORTO was the first to traverse Africa from Benguela to the Ruvuma River.

In their colonies the Portuguese endeavoured to develop plantation farming by settling European colonists there. From 1813 onwards, they began to step up the settling of colonists, organize "public works" (for example, they started to construct a canal connecting Loanda with the Kwanza River). Both in Angola and in the São Tomé and Príncipe Islands they introduced the cultivation of new plants from all over the world, such as coffee (1800), cocoa (1822), sugar cane, cinchona, etc. In the sixties Angola received a new influx of enterprising colonizers from Brazil who organized navigation on the Kwanza River and founded a few processing enterprises (sugar works, tobacco factories, etc.).

Penetration of Britain, France and Germany into West and Central Equatorial Africa in the First Half of the 19th Century

In the first half of the 19th century three great European powers: Great Britain, France and Germany appeared in West Equatorial Africa. Britain sent a strong and well equipped expedition to explore the lower course of the Congo under the command of Captain JAMES KINGSTON TUCKEY as early as 1816. The expedition explored the lower Congo as far as the present-day station at Isangila (277 kilometres from the estuary) and collected a great deal of valuable information on the population and the resources of the region. But it cost pretty much: out of the 56 members of the expedition, eighteen persons, including all its leaders, died of tropical fever within three months. The sad experience kept for half a century both Britain and the other nations of Europe from venturing up the Congo River into the heart of Equatorial Africa. The British decided to penetrate into Equatorial Africa from the northwest and therefore turned their attention to the region of Lake Chad. One of the tasks of the OUDNEY—CLAPPERTON—DENHAM expedition¹ was to find out the chances of such a venture. But after this expedition (which from this point of view gave negative results), the British in the first half of the 19th century renounced their plans around Lake Chad and made no more attempts to penetrate from there into the interior equatorial areas. In this period their attention was focussed on the countries around the Niger River, which represented to them far greater economic and strategic interest and at the same time seemed to be less dreadful in respect of climatic conditions. Besides, in the second quarter of the 19th century, they attempted to take possession first of Fernando Po, adjacent to the equatorial coast, and then of the Cameroon coast.

¹ See pp. 210—211.

British Adventure in Fernando Po

With the prohibition of the slave trade the island of Fernando Po, which Spain had acquired from Portugal in 1778, was no longer interesting to the Spaniards who actually abandoned it in 1800. In October—December 1827, the military expedition of Captain FITZWILLIAM OWEN, despatched by the British government, occupied the island and established there an English colony with the alleged aim to set up a base for the struggle against the slave trade. In fact, the British government wanted to establish a stronghold for the trading expeditions of the African Company and to develop the exploitation of the forests of the island by employing the cheap labour of the liberated slaves concentrated on the island. But these plans failed for the following three reasons:

First, the former slaves offered passive resistance. According to a contemporary Frenchman: "These plans were frustrated because the newly freed slaves demanded too high wages, and to the hard work of wood-cutters they preferred gardening and poultry farming, the breeding of goats and pigs for sale to the calling ships."¹

The second great obstacle to the British ambitions was the unhealthy climate of the island which by and by became a cemetery of British officers and travellers. (In 1835 RICHARD LANDER died in Fernando Po; in 1841 two officers, four doctors and a botanist died and were buried there, all of them members of one and the same expedition bound for the Niger River; in 1854 there died the British consul and traveller, BECROFT, etc.)

The third and most serious obstacle were the Spaniards. In the beginning the Spanish government tacitly tolerated the British intrusion, but later on, at the direct demand of the Cortes in 1843, it demanded the island back and sent a military expedition which on February 27, 1843, occupied the island, and on March 6 concluded with the British an agreement by which Fernando Po (along with the small territory of Rio Muni on the mainland, between 1° and 2° lat. N.) was recognized as a Spanish protectorate, but all the same the former British governor of the island, BECROFT, was appointed governor on behalf of the Spanish government, and with him were staying also other English officials.

After BECROFT's death in 1854, a Spaniard was appointed governor, and the British were left out of the administration of the island.

Thus it was that, although some English officials temporarily remained on the island, the British attempts at colonization (which according to D'AVEZAC cost more than five million francs) failed definitely. After the restoration of Spanish rule the British, in order to maintain their influence, started sending their missionaries to the island (Methodists and Baptists), but in 1858 they were all expelled by the Spanish authorities to leave the island and so they moved across to the Cameroon coast.

The British on the Cameroon Coast

The British attempts on the Cameroon coast began in 1840. In the years 1840—42 Captain BECROFT and the physician M. KING conducted a few minor expeditions up the Cross and Old Calabar Rivers on board a trading ship and concluded several treaties for the struggle against the slave trade, first with princelings of the Duala

¹ D'AVEZAC, *Iles de l'Afrique* (Paris, 1848), part ii, p. 254.

and Akwa tribes (May 7, 1841), and then (December 6) also with the chiefs of Calabar (the "Eyambi king") and Creek town (the "Eio king").

The expedition of Captain ALLEN aboard the steamer *Wilberforce* in 1843 explored Ambas Bay and the Cameroon River, and the British missionary SAKER in the same year set up a missionary station at Ambas Bay by acquiring for the purpose a small concession from the local chief. Later on, in 1858, when the missionaries ousted from Fernando Po came to the coast, SAKER established another big missionary station — Victoria.

How very much the British of those times were interested in the Cameroons is shown by the fact that a British scientific association in 1845 made a certain Professor DANIEL give a special lecture on "the population of Old Calabar."¹

The French in Gabon

In the first half of the 19th century the French attempts in Equatorial Africa — in contrast to British activities — were confined to one region, the coast land around the mouth of the Gabon River. But the French displayed more intensive and more successful activities there. Until 1839 there was no European settlement on this sector of the coast, although from time to time it had been called on by slave merchants from different nations, and it served as a sort of market for the living merchandise. Early in 1839 the captain of a French ship that dropped anchor there, Lieutenant BOUET, thought the place very appropriate for the establishment of factories with a view to expanding trade with the tribes living in the interior and reached an agreement with the local chief ("King DENIS"), who ceded to the French a small territory on the left bank of the Gabon River. A factory was set up for the purposes of regular trade in slaves. The high mortality among the Europeans, agents of the slave traders, however, soon forced the careful management to look for a more appropriate place, and in 1842 the same Lieutenant BOUET came to new terms — this time with the "native kings" LOUIS and CABEN. By this agreement France acquired territories also on the right bank of the river, which the French found more favourable from the climatic point of view. In the following year (1843) they built a garrison, Fort d'Omal, and in 1844 the governor of Senegal, who had authority over this new colony, concluded with the Gabonese chiefs already a general agreement by which the latter recognized French supremacy over the entire region of the Gabon River.

In 1845 the French Parliament allotted special funds for the development of the colony and its transformation into "a central post for supplying and repairing the ships of the southern sector of our African squadron".²

The construction of trading stations went very fast. In 1846 a whole commercial city was established on the right bank, but the Africans of the interior went there very reluctantly. To find out the reasons for this attitude and to establish trade contacts, as well as to explore the interior region, Lieutenant PIGEARD in 1846 made a nine-day trip up the Gabon River. In addition to gathering valuable geographical information, he explored the economic resources of the region (ebony and other precious trees) and found out the reason why the tribes living farther from the coast were not amenable to deal with the Europeans. It appeared that the coastal tribes, which were engaged in commission business and had long dissuaded the Europeans

¹ See "Nouvelles Annales des Voyages", in *Revue géographique* for July 1845.

² TARDIEU, *Sénégal et Guinée* (Paris, 1847), p. 378.

from visiting the inland region — pretending that cannibal tribes were living there — systematically frightened away the inland tribes by telling them blood-curling stories about the "white men" in order to keep them from entering into direct contact with the Europeans and to preserve for themselves the profit they derived from commission business.

PIGEARD made a detailed written report on the results of his explorations and proposed to begin organizing the exploitation of the natural resources of the country. The first result of his investigations was the decision by the French government to build a new town in Gabon and to colonize it with liberated slaves. This meant the birth, in 1848—49, of Libreville, which was built by liberated slaves whom the French had recaptured from an intercepted slave ship and settled there.

A German Expedition into Angola

In the first half of the 19th century Germany still showed feeble interest in colonies. The first step she took in this period in West Equatorial Africa was an expedition into Angola led by a certain DR. TAMS in 1842 which was — at least officially — declared to be a commercial mission. This expedition ended dismally: DR. TAMS and his company (botanist WREDE and entomologist GROSS-BENDER) died of tropical fever in São Paulo de Loanda in the same year.

Anglo-French Rivalry in West Equatorial Africa in the Fifties to Seventies and the Increasing Activity of Germany

From 1854 onwards the desultory attempts to penetrate the lower Guinea coast and Central Equatorial Africa changed into a constant three-power competition for the "exploration" of these regions. In 1854 appeared in Angola the "pioneer of Christian religion" and of British trade, LIVINGSTONE. A year after his departure from Angola the French DU CHAILLU (1856—58) set out on his first travel to Gabon. DU CHAILLU was still in Gabon when the German BASTIAN (1858) appeared at the lower course of the Congo. In the same year Great Britain considerably expanded her colony on the Cameroon coast by settling there all the British missionaries expelled from Fernando Po. In 1860 the famous British traveller, BURTON, was appointed British consul at Fernando Po and was commissioned to organize from there the systematic exploration of the lower Guinea coast, which he accomplished in four years (1860—64). During these years the French explored the course of the Ogowe River (1862), after sending there a big military expedition,¹ and the German WELWITSCH explored Angola (1861—65).² In 1866 the British merchant WALKER also penetrated into Okwandu. A year later a French expedition appeared there under a naval officer, AYMES. In the same year LIVINGSTONE again explored Central Equatorial Africa, and in the following year (1868) the French DUPARQUET explored Benguela. During these years the Woermann firm of Hamburg set up trading stations in several regions of West Equatorial Africa (at Duala, on the Cameroon coast, in Gabon, on the islands of Elobey, now attached to Spanish Guinea, etc.).

¹ See TOUCHARD, "Notice sur le Gabon" (*Revue maritime et coloniale*, October 1861); P. A. SERVAIL, "Description de la rivière Ramboô" (*Revue maritime et coloniale*, 1861); GRIFFON DU BELLAY, "Exploration du fleuve Ogo-veû" (*Revue marit.*, 1863). See also the work of BRAQUEZEC (p. 233).

² See *Peterm. Mitt.*, 1858, vol. vii.

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SEIZURE OF CAPE COLONY BY GREAT BRITAIN

The growing discontent and indignation of the colonists in 1795 led to the outbreak of a revolt against the Company. The rule of the Company was overthrown, and the Boer burghers set up their own "National Assembly". This gave Great Britain a comfortable excuse for intervention. In July 1795 British warships entered Simon's Bay, and in September, after the armed resistance of the colonists had been put down, Cape Colony was occupied by a British military expedition consisting of 63 ships and six regiments. Although by virtue of the treaty of Amiens the British in 1803 had to evacuate and leave it to the Batavian Republic, they again seized it in a war against the Batavian Republic in 1806. After NAPOLEON had been overthrown and the Prince of Orange, with the help of the British, was again put on the throne of Holland, the new Dutch sovereign "ceded" Cape Colony to Britain (together with certain Dutch possessions in America) against a payment of six million pounds sterling.

The British introduced free trade in the colony. But, in every other respect, their regime was a sheer mockery of the Boer colonists right from the outset. First of all, proceeding from the tested principle "divide and rule", their tactless behaviour in "straightening out" the relations between Boers and Khoi-Khoi made these relations utterly strained. Then they meted out severe punishment to the Boers for the slightest violation of the regulations issued by the British authorities.

On this account part of the colonists rose in 1815. After crushing the revolt, the British authorities executed six of its leaders. They compelled the wives and children of the convicted Boers to assist at the execution. All six were hanged from the same gallows, which then broke under their weight. The men fell to the ground, and the attending crowd were crying for mercy. But the British authorities were implacable and had the execution accomplished. The Boers named that place the "Hangman's Hill" (*Slaagter's Nek*).

After that, affronting measures followed one another. The political rights of the burghers were curtailed, and their economic situation worsened. The burghers' participation in the colonial administration, though it had in some degree been assured even under the Company's rule, now came to nothing. In 1820 the colony received 5,000 British immigrants who were allotted (at the expense of the government) the best land in the southeast of the colony. The monetary reform of 1825 (the introduction of British currency) brought many colonists to ruin. In 1825 English was made the official language of the administration and of the schools (although seven-eighths of the colonists understood only Dutch). The newspapers published by the colonists were suppressed one after the other.

On account of these and similar affronts, the colonists started a vast movement demanding representative institutions and political liberties. In 1832 several local riots broke out.

Finally, the liberation of the slaves in the colony in 1834 — or rather the way it was carried out by the British government — brought about the complete ruin of a considerable part of the Boer farmers and caused the departure of about 10,000 Boers from the colony (the "Great Trek").

The Boer people, were, in comparison to European peoples, an economically underdeveloped nation. Their farming was based on the labour of slaves whom they for two centuries had procured for money almost solely from British slave merchants.¹

The Boers were not in principle against the liberation of slaves; they favoured the abolition of slavery themselves,² but they demanded compensation from the British. Great Britain recognized their right to this, and the British Parliament set aside means for the purpose.³ But, although British experts estimated the loss of the Boer farmers at three million pounds sterling (the actual loss was considerably more), they were allotted only 1.75 million. The money was paid to the farmers in London with great deductions, and they were required to meet so many formalities that many of the Boer farmers either waived their rights for a mere trifle or gave it up definitively. Having lost the basis of their well-being, the affluent owners of land and slaves became poor peasants ("Boers") who had to live by their own labour. This was the main cause of the trek.⁴

The "Great Trek" and the Struggle of the Boers for an Independent Republic of Their Own

To escape the affronts of the British usurpers, a great part of the Boers (about 10,000 persons) decided to leave the colony together with their families and cattle. Their plan was to go far away, to the north or the east of the colony, and acquire from the aborigines — by agreement or by force — appropriate territory to found

¹ See *Papers Relative to Slaves at the Cape of Good Hope* (1827).

² One of the eminent leaders of the Boer "Trekks", PIET RETIEF, in an official declaration made to the British authorities on January 22, 1837, wrote in the name of his group:

"2. We complain of the severe losses which we have been forced to sustain by the emancipation of our slaves and the vexatious laws which have been enacted respecting them."

In paragraph 5 of the same document it was declared:

"We are resolved, wherever we go, that we will uphold the just principles of liberty; . . . we will take care that no one is brought by us into a condition of slavery . . ."

This document is quoted in full in J. B. FITZPATRICK, *The Transvaal from Within* (London, 1900), pp. 4-5.

A letter of the Volksraad to the British general, Sir GEORGE NAPIER, stated: "A long and sad experience has sufficiently convinced us of the injury, loss, and dearness of slave labour, so that neither slavery nor the slave trade will ever be permitted among us." (*Ibid.*, p. 6.)

³ Parliament voted an over-all sum of £ 20 million to compensate the slave owners in all British possessions.

⁴ Besides the just indignation of the Boers at their political oppression, economic grievances and the vexatious methods employed in the emancipation of slaves, another motive of their departure was their being dissatisfied with the policy of the British government in relation to the Xhosa and particularly with the measures which Lord GLENELG adopted after the third war with the Xhosa (see below) and which they could not understand and considered a personal affront, since the Xhosa had received back certain strips of land formerly occupied by the Boers.

there an independent republic. They left by small groups of tens or hundreds, for they could not feed their cattle otherwise. But their departure was according to a plan worked out in advance. They were to meet in specified regions.

The first few groups perished, partly in the struggle with Africans, partly from tropical fever. But many groups that went after them united in the region between the Orange and Vaal Rivers. After several engagements with the *Matabele* the Boers succeeded in pushing them across the Limpopo River. In June 1837, in a newly founded city, Winburg (named in honour of the victory), they adopted a Constitution of their new State. The legislative organ was a council of elected popular representatives, and the executive organ was constituted by a "high commandant." To the post of the latter they elected PIET RETIEF, the leader of one of the biggest groups of emigrants.

With a view to acquiring more land and an outlet to the sea, in February 1838 RETIEF set out with a detachment of about 600 men eastward, to the territory of present-day Natal, to conclude with DINGAAN, the chief of the Zulus in possession of the territory, a treaty for territorial concession with an access to the sea. DINGAAN at first agreed and even signed a document with the representatives of the Boers, but next day the Boer emissaries were killed, and then the troops of DINGAAN attacked the camp of RETIEF and slaughtered all the Boers they found there. No little part in this unexpected change in DINGAAN's attitude was played, in all probability, by the intrigues of certain British missionaries.¹

The other Boer groups, united under the leadership of ANDRIES PRETORIUS, organized in the territory of Natal a campaign against DINGAAN and defeated his troops on December 16, 1838.

After this the Boers founded their own republic in Natal, but it did not long survive. The British government continued considering them "rebellious British subjects" and in 1842 sent its troops against the Natal republic and occupied it. The majority of the Natal Boers (all except 500 families) left Natal to return to the Orange River country to their kinsmen.

In 1848 the Boers, divided into four large groups, occupied already the entire territory of the present-day Transvaal and Orange provinces. Every one of the groups had its own democratic government. But Great Britain still did not leave them in peace. In February 1848 she declared the entire territory between the Orange and Vaal Rivers British possession. The Boers, led by PRETORIUS, rose in revolt and expelled the British magistrates. But in August 1848 many troops were sent from Cape Colony, and the Boers were defeated. As a result, a considerable part of the population of the Orange republic emigrated to the Transvaal.

The British rule in the Orange territory, however, did not last long. In 1851, in a war with the *Basuto* tribe, the British suffered a defeat. Making use of the weakening of British rule, the Orange Boers entered into contact with the Boers of the Transvaal led by PRETORIUS and, upon the initiative of the Basuto chief, MOSHEU, conducted talks about the Basuto and all Boers joining forces to expel the British. Aware of the danger of such an alliance, the British authorities preferred to enter into negotiations on a peace treaty with PRETORIUS (on whose head a price of 1,000

¹ The British missionary OWEN, who at the time had his permanent residence at DINGAAN's, in his narrative of what had happened did not even conceal that he had known beforehand of the impending massacre. According to him, DINGAAN sent a messenger to let him know about the coming massacre and to tell him not to be frightened, that no harm would be done to the mission people, "as they were King George's children, but the Boers were not and had run away from him". See CORY, *The Rise of South Africa* (London, 1926), vol. iv, p. 48.

pounds were set for sedition). The agreement was concluded in 1852 (Sand River Convention) as a compromise: Great Britain recognized the complete independence of the Transvaal (which from that time on was already called the "South African Republic"); while the Orange territory remained under British rule.

Of course, this compromise could not give satisfaction to the Orange Boers. And when, at the end of the same year, the war between the British and Basuto again broke out, the Orange Boers did not help the British at all. The latter suffered a second big defeat. Although, upon this, the clever MOSHEU himself offered peace, neglecting the advantage of his victory, yet the experience of two wars with the Basuto gave Britain to understand that for the British colony to be in the immediate neighbourhood of the Basuto is a very dangerous and expensive thing. On top of it all, the majority of the Boer colonists, desirous of getting rid of the British yoke, were preparing for another trek. This compelled Britain to withdraw, and by the Bloemfontein Convention of 1854 she gave up the Orange territory and recognized it as an independent Boer republic, which was named the Orange Free State.

Unification of the Transvaal. Boer Expansion and British Intrigues

The final unification of the four small countries of the Transvaal, which in 1849 constituted a loose federation, into the "South African Republic" was a gradual process. It was, though, proclaimed in 1858, with the adoption of a unified Constitution, and even a president of the republic was elected in the person of MARTHINUS WESSELS PRETORIUS, son of the late ANDRIES PRETORIUS. But the various small republics and the various groups of colonists waged an uninterrupted internecine struggle, in part for personal reasons, in part on account of religious differences. In the early sixties these differences resulted in civil war. Not until 1864 did PRETORIUS succeed in restoring general accord and in uniting the local organs of administration in a centralized State apparatus.

Throughout the fifties and sixties the colonists of both Boer republics had almost continuous military conflicts with the surrounding African tribes. In most cases these were but minor clashes on account of cattle, etc., but from time to time organized wars were conducted on a national scale. Thus, for instance, the Orange Free State in two wars (1863—65, 1867) defeated the Basuto (with the help of the British) and occupied much of their country. PRETORIUS, in his turn, made several attempts, by military campaigns to the east, to seize territories of African tribes in order to obtain for the Transvaal a way out towards the sea. These wars remained unsuccessful, mainly, for two reasons: 1. There being no permanent army, the State was compelled from time to time to "call the burghers to arms", and the burghers were very loath to answer; 2. owing to the indifference of most burghers towards State affairs (refusal to pay any kind of taxes, etc.), the financial situation of the Transvaal Republic in the sixties became extremely critical. (The purchasing power of the paper money emitted by the government fell to 25 per cent of its nominal value.)

For about a decade and a half after the conclusion of the 1852 and 1854 conventions, Great Britain did not actively interfere in the affairs of the Boer republics. But when, late in the fifties and early in the sixties, the Boers of both republics entered into talks about unification, the British government declared that it would regard unification as a breach of the 1852 and 1854 conventions and as an excuse for armed intervention. By this pressure it virtually prevented the creation of a single strong Boer republic. Besides, during the wars of the Boers with the Basuto, the ad-

ministration of Cape Colony usually sent its armed forces to help now the Basuto against the Boers, now the Boers against the Basuto. Afterwards both the Basuto and the Boers had to pay dearly for this help. The Boers in 1867, after defeating the Basuto in two wars with the help of the British, occupied the entire Basutoland. A year later Britain forced the Boers to renounce the Basuto territory and proclaimed Basutoland an independent country under the protectorate of Great Britain. Hardly did two years elapse when the country under British "protection" was annexed by the same Britain to her colony at the Cape (1871).

Beginning of the "Diamond Rush"

In 1867 something happened in South Africa which later had decisive effects upon the whole subsequent history of this region. Diamonds were found near the junction of the Vaal and Orange Rivers. Part of this region belonged to the Transvaal, the greater part of it, to the Orange Free State.

The immediate consequences of the discovery of diamonds were felt in three directions:

(a) As soon as the world had come to hear about diamonds being discovered in South Africa, there began a continuous inflow of immigrants into both Boer republics. Prospectors, merchants and fortune-seekers started to inundate both countries.

(b) PRETORIUS, with the object of ensuring for the Boer republics the advantages of the economic upsurge, entered into talks with Portugal, trying to acquire an access to the sea and a contact with the outside world by ignoring the British colonies. As a result, a trade agreement was concluded between the Transvaal and Portugal (1869), but PRETORIUS failed in achieving his principal aim.

(c) Britain resolved to take possession of the diamond district. Since she had no legal claim whatever to it, she resorted to fraud. She managed to come to terms with the chiefs of certain Khoi-Khoi (Griqua) and Bechuana tribes to the effect that they in their own name would lay claim to the diamond reefs in order to "cede" these territories to Great Britain afterwards. In addition, the two Boer republics were quarrelling over the frontier which happened to run across the diamond fields. Britain proposed a settlement of the dispute by means of peaceful agreement, by arbitration. The Boers divided into two parties. The militant party (headed by KRUGER) would have none of the talks with the British authorities and declared its readiness to take up arms for the defence of these territories. The other, more moderate, party with PRETORIUS at its head, in view of the military might of Great Britain and of the weakness of the Boer republics, proposed to accept talks and arbitration. In the 1869 presidential election the moderate party came out on top, and PRETORIUS was re-elected. The case was submitted to arbitration (the "arbitrator" was the British governor of Natal), by which in 1871 decision was passed in favour of the African chiefs, who thus received the best part of the diamond district. These chiefs immediately ceded the territory to Britain. For the rest of the diamond reefs Great Britain paid the Orange Free State an indemnity of £90,000. The indignation of the Boer people at the opportunist policy of their government was so strong that in 1872 President PRETORIUS was obliged to resign.

AWAKENING OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THEIR DEFENSIVE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE CONQUERORS

The secular Anglo-Boer struggle is but one aspect of South African history. Taking part in the drama was, besides the British and the Boers, a third force — the indigenous peoples of South Africa. The British colonizers adopted no less hostile attitude towards the African peoples than towards the Boers. Posing as "defenders" of the Africans, in fact they led against them wars of conquest, not seldom resorting to provocations for almost an entire century. As far as the Boers are concerned, though heroically fighting for freedom and independence against the British usurpers, waging against them just, defensive wars, they nevertheless were almost always engaged in offensive wars against Africans. During almost an entire century the peoples of South Africa had to defend their independence, their lands and herds in an obstinate, almost ceaseless struggle on two fronts: against the British and against the Boers. The foreign conquerors met with most stubborn resistance on the part of three peoples of South Africa, the Xhosa, the Zulu and the Basuto.

The Xhosa

The Xhosa tribes, as we have seen, were immediate neighbours of Cape Colony on the east and northeast. Every step of the colony to expand the settlements caused constraint and restriction to the tribes who defended their land heroically. Now and again they succeeded in repelling one or another attack of the British or the Boer colonists. But in big wars they could not defend their rights. The reason for this was not only the military superiority of the British and Boers. One of the main causes of the Xhosa tribes being defeated was that they were not united; they were split up into a multitude of tribes and tribal groups which were frequently at war with one another. And the British made the best of it by helping some Xhosa tribes in their struggle against others.

In the course of half a century (1811—56) the British launched six wars of conquest against the Xhosa (the "Kaffir wars"). To show a war pretext, the British always charged the Xhosa with raiding the colonists and stealing cattle. There is documentary evidence, however, that the "Kaffir wars", all without exception, either were started at the direct urging of the British administration or were caused by such actions of the tribes as were provoked by the same British authorities.

The first war of the British with the Xhosa took place in 1811. The British attacked the Xhosa,¹ who lived in peace on the territory they occupied by virtue of the 1789 treaty, and pushed them to the left bank of the Great Fish River.

After the 1815 Boer uprising Great Britain decided to settle British colonists in the eastern part of the colony. To this end it was necessary to "clear the ground". In the "second Kaffir war" (1817—18) the Xhosa were ousted even from the left bank of the Great Fish River and pushed on to the east bank of the Keishama River.

One of the aims of the British colonizers was to develop the production of agricultural goods. With this end in view they had to replace slave labour with more productive forms of labour and increase the supply of manpower. The abolition of

¹ See the description of the events as an ardent defender of the British conquerors, Lt-Col. NAPIER, gave it in his work, *Excursions in Southern Africa* (London, 1849), vol. i, p. 216.

slavery in 1834 served this purpose. As a result, the attitude of the British colonizers towards the Xhosa tribes changed. Their aim was now, not to drive away the Xhosa, but to subjugate them with a view to attaching them to the land and making them a reserve of inexpensive manpower for the British colonists. This was the principal motive of the third war with the Xhosa (1834–35). And this accounts for the “gentleness” shown after the war by the British authorities in treating the vanquished Xhosa. The Transkei territory was left to them, and only little land was taken from them for the British colony (“British Kaffraria”) established on the right bank of the Kei. But here and there the British appointed such men Xhosa chiefs who were to their liking for ruling the Xhosa tribes under the control of British authorities. Yet as a result of differences of opinion between certain groups of the British bourgeoisie, the plans of the too zealous colonizers failed this time. At that time another policy came to the fore in London, in the Colonial Office (Lord GLENELG); the policy of a part of the bourgeoisie which, in the given stage, saw the next main task of British colonial policy in South Africa not in completing the subjugation of the African masses, but in breaking down first the opposition of the Boer colonists. And “British Kaffraria” was restored to the Xhosa.

After the departure of the Boers, however, the question of manpower soon became more acute, and a few years later the aggressive policy of the South African administration was already fully approved by the British government. This resulted in two more sanguinary wars with the Xhosa (1846, 1850–53). “British Kaffraria” was again made a colony.

The colonizers still had not attained their aim. The Xhosa found themselves under British supreme rule, but while remaining on their lands they did not take kindly to work for the administration and the colonists. In 1856, when the Xhosa had been extremely weakened by a devastating epidemic of rinderpest, there appeared among them “prophets” preaching that next year all the former strong chiefs would rise from the dead and bring with them new herds of cattle exempt from disease.¹ But for this to happen, the “prophets” said, it was necessary to destroy the existing cattle and crops. The ignorant masses exhausted with privations were taken in by this senseless trick. The result was that over 25,000 persons died of starvation, about 100,000 left the territory and went to the east, and 40,000 moved into Cape Colony and, “through the intervention of the British government”, were given jobs as half-slave farm hands by the British colonists. At the same time it came to the sixth “Kaffir war” (1858). The utterly enfeebled Xhosa were this time pushed far to the northeast (Pondoland). “Kaffraria” was annexed to Cape Colony, and the Transkei territory was declared a British protectorate.

The Zulus

Towards the beginning of the 19th century the tribes of the *Zulu* groups lived scattered over the northern half of present-day Natal. These tribes were united under the ten-year reign of one of their chiefs, CHAKA (1818–28), who rallied the dispersed small tribes in a great Zulu people and organized them in a strong, homogeneous military State. The strength of CHAKA’s military State was due to the following: (a)

¹ The event occurred after the Crimean war, and the false prophets said also that the dead chiefs would bring with them an army of *Russian* soldiers killed in that war to help the Xhosa. (See JOHNSTON, *op. cit.*, p. 266.)



24. Slaughter's Hill (see p. 234)

replacement of the old weapons (assagais) with new, more efficacious, short knobkerries and oxhide shields; (b) introduction of a strategy new to the Africans (attack in close order, surprise attacks, flank assaults driving the enemy against the main striking force of the Zulus); (c) transformation of tribalism into a unified, strong military organization by enlisting every member of society in the service of war, precisely defining the tasks and enforcing stern military discipline. All the men between 16 and 60 years of age served in the army. Young warriors were forbidden to marry and raise families. Marriage was only allowed as a reward for war merits, and married soldiers made up special units of the army separated from the units of unmarried warriors. The soldiers fed almost exclusively on meat and were forbidden to drink milk. The women and children were attending to the troops (driving the herds after the army and tending the animals, preparing the food, serving as porters, etc.). The surviving men of the vanquished tribes in part were used as slaves, in part (the young and strong) were enlisted in the troops, and the women and children together with the herds of the enemy were added to the tribal property as booty. Children born out of wedlock were put to death. During interwar periods the whole tribe used to live in big military encampments (*ekanda*).

The paramount of the Zulus was the military commander and dictator of his tribe and owner of all the land of the tribe. He was master of the property and even of the lives of his tribesmen. And he was the chief justice in matters of murder and treachery which were punished with death (all the other matters came within the jurisdiction of the smaller, local chiefs who had the right to impose on the offender some penalty, confiscation of part of his cattle or corporal punishment). Nevertheless the power of this "dictator" was neither absolute nor personal. It was subject to the control of several high counsellors (*induna*) with whom the paramount was obliged to agree upon every decision and action of his.

Thanks to their highly developed military organization, the Zulus succeeded in subjugating a multitude of tribes and exercising supreme power over the entire territory of today's Natal, Transvaal, Orange State and of certain regions of Mozambique. In the reign of CHAKA's successor, DINGAAN (1828—40), the might of the Zulu military State first rose steadily but later began to decline as a result of armed conflicts with Boer colonists and of the internecine struggle of the Zulus themselves (between DINGAAN and another brother of CHAKA's, MPANDE), this internal strife being stirred up by the Boers. After the defeat of 1838, DINGAAN's brother, MPANDE, treacherously went over to the Boers and, in alliance with them, in 1840 conducted a campaign against DINGAAN. The latter was utterly beaten and compelled to flee to Swaziland, where he died in the same year.

MPANDE, after becoming the Zulu paramount with the help of the Boers, ceded much of Zululand in part to the Boers, in part to the British. In the thirty-two years of his reign (1840—72) Zululand shrank to the size of a small district north of Natal colony. And many of the Zulu tribes became dependent upon the British colony of Natal. But MPANDE's son and successor, CETIWAYO (KECHWAYO) (1870—84), still in his father's lifetime began, and later energetically continued, to fight for the restoration of his country's independence and might. In the sixties he gradually seized the power of actual chief, pushing aside his father, and used his power to prepare his people for the renewal of the struggle against the alien usurpers. Like CHAKA and DINGAAN, he again proceeded to create a strong military organization after the model of the one-time Zulu army, and engineered a new technical revolution by partially replacing the spears and shields with firearms.

The Tribes Detached from the Zulus

The Zulu tribal federation, as conceived by its founders, was to include every tribe of the Zulu group. In fact, it included *almost every* tribe of the group. The most significant among the Zulu tribes which remained outside of the "Zulu nation" were the *Gaza*, *Tonga*, *Swazi* and *Angoni* tribes. Besides, fragments of the Zulu alliance early in the 19th century gave birth to a new tribe, the *Matabele*.

The Gaza

The *Gaza* (Amagaza, Abagaza) broke away from the Zulus in 1830 and amidst campaigns of conquest moved northward, into the territory of the Portuguese Mozambique colony, where they settled down to become the leading tribe there.

The Tonga

The *Tonga* (Amatonga, Batonga) tribes inhabited the region south of Delagoa Bay, the shores of Lake Saint Lucia and the seaside lagoons, as well as the region on the north between the Limpopo and Sabi Rivers. They were broken up the following way: part of them lived in the north of Natal, the rest in the Portuguese colony of Mozambique.

Unlike other tribes of the Zulu group, the *Tonga* had from olden times been exceptionally peace-loving people. They were ruled by minor chiefs who were governing in common with their councils of elders. The *Tonga* were excellent agricultural workers, cattle-breeders and craftsmen, but Zulu raids often disturbed them in their peaceful work. The aggressors often seized their herds, and the *Tonga* not seldom were compelled to hide from the Zulus in the bushveld. (In hard times, certain *Tonga* tribes also raised dogs in addition to cattle.) But whenever it was possible, they returned to productive occupations.

The Swazi

The *Swazi* tribes, separated from the Zulu tribal alliance at the beginning of the 19th century, created an independent State of their own in the frontier region between the British possessions (Natal), the Boer republics (Transvaal and Orange) and the Portuguese colony of Mozambique.

The Angoni

The *Angoni* or *Wangoni* broke away from the tribal federation headed by CHAKA in the eighteen-twenties, and went back to East Equatorial Africa. In the course of about a half-century the *Angoni*, in several waves of conquering campaigns, moved on little by little first to the southern regions of Lake Nyasa and later farther in the northeasterly direction, driving away other tribes. In the end they occupied a vast territory extending from the region southeast of Lake Nyasa (a few kilometres from the shore) towards the northeast to the junction of the Ruaha and Rufiji Rivers.

Various minor groups of the *Angoni* forced their way to the north, joined the tribal federation of the *Wanyamwezi* and finally settled in the northeast corner of the *Wanyamwezi* territory, in the region contiguous to the *Wahuma* States. Besides, small *Angoni* groups lived in isolation in the region of *Kisaki* (north of the *Ruaha*).

As concerns their language and culture, the *Angoni* have on the whole preserved their Zulu character, but in the course of their wanderings and campaigns they became to a considerable extent mixed with Eastern Bantu peoples, as well as with the *Makwa* and the *Yao*. The peoples who came into conflicts with the *Angoni* or lived in their neighbourhood gave them different names: the tribes of the regions of lakes *Nyasa* and *Tanganyika* called them *Watuta*, the *Wahehe* named them *Wapoma*, and the inhabitants of the *Livingstone* Mountains dubbed them *Wayoya*; in certain regions they are called the *Mafiti* or *Maziti*, in others, the *Wamachonde*, *Mangwangwara*, *Walihuhu*, etc.

In the past the *Angoni* held slaves. In the period of their wanderings they essentially departed from Zulu traditions in one respect: those men of the vanquished tribes whose lives they spared were adopted into their tribe not as warriors but as slaves. The *Angoni* men themselves were only warriors and huntsmen. All work was entrusted to the women and the slaves. After they had settled, they adopted agriculture. They did not give up the traditional stock-breeding either, but their territory being unsuitable for the raising of cattle, they had very few sheep and, in the main, kept only goats. On the other hand, agriculture was fairly developed: they applied manure and even a certain degree of crop rotation. Work in the fields was done by both sexes. In some places the *Angoni* lived in villages, in others on individual farmsteads (*kraals*). They fell for the missionary propaganda very little.

The Matabele

The *Matabele* people arose in 1818, when the tribe of *MOSELIKATZE* (*UMSILIKAZI*) broke away from the Zulu federation and moved towards the northeast. Waging a ceaseless struggle with the Zulus, with certain *Khoi-Khoi* and *Bechuana* tribes and, in particular, with the *Boers*, they at first conquered a new homeland for themselves in the territory of the present-day *Transvaal*, and later on, in 1838, being ousted from there by the *Boers*, the *Matabele* crossed the *Limpopo*, subdued all the peoples who at the time lived in the present-day territory of Southern Rhodesia, the *Mashona* among them, and occupied much of that territory, where they established the strong, independent "Matabele kingdom".

After conquering the new homeland for his people, *UMSILIKAZI* lived on for about thirty years. During the rest of his reign the *Matabele* kingdom and the vanquished *Mashonaland* became flourishing, rich countries. In addition to hunting and stock-breeding, they created a developed agriculture. Of course, they often had to fight against other tribes. There were quarrels over pastures, skirmishes on account of herds being seized by another tribe, etc. But according to African conditions and conceptions, the *Matabele* and *Mashona* peoples in the reign of *UMSILIKAZI* lived a peaceful and happy life. And *UMSILIKAZI*, who had acquired for his people a new homeland, was held in affection and respect by the whole people. He died in 1870 and was succeeded on the throne by his son, *LOBENGULA*.

Books on South African history often describe *UMSILIKAZI* as a "bloodthirsty tyrant" who was only dreaming of wars and massacres, and the *Matabele* as an

exceptionally cruel and sanguinary people. All this is but a historical slander. The Matabele tribes often had, of course, clashes with neighbouring tribes because of quarrels over pastures and herds. But they did not fight "for the art's sake", and as regards cruelty, they were no worse and no better than any other tribe or people in similar conditions of life and war at the same stage of development.

The said false interpretation of the history of the Matabele and the person of UMSILIKAZI is the more unpardonable because historians have full knowledge of the detailed descriptions given by British and other missionaries and travellers who met UMSILIKAZI in person. On the basis of their narratives anybody can be convinced that the "bloodthirsty tyrant" UMSILIKAZI personally was an exceptionally fair, gentle and peace-loving man. It is known, for example, that he said to the British missionary MOFFAT: "Tell your king to let us live in peace".¹ Another British missionary, MACKENSIE, relates enthusiastically that this famous "tyrant", who was said to be the personification of bloodthirstiness, was in fact of a gentle nature, and felt sore and uneasy at seeing any man, or even animal, tortured; that even cattle-drivers had in his presence to abstain from lashing the animals and to goad them only by caressing with long dry branches.²

The Bechuana

Comparatively less affected by the European intrusion were the Bechuana tribes (with the exception of the Basuto, who will be dealt with separately).

The scattered *Bechuana* tribes by the dawn of the 19th century occupied an extensive territory between the Kalahari Desert and the Drakensberg Mountains, from the middle course of the Orange River on the south to the Zambezi on the north. Over this vast territory of 275,000 square kilometres the Bechuana tribes were almost the only inhabitants. Only on the north, in the regions adjoining the Zambezi River, did they mingle with other tribes—those of the Western Bantu. Every Bechuana tribe lived by itself. There used to be clashes between the different tribes. At the beginning of the 19th century, two new, distinct peoples emerged from the mass of Bechuana tribes: the *Basuto* and the *Makololo*.³ In the second quarter of the century it came to conflicts between Bechuana tribes and their new neighbours, the Matabele and the Boers (and also with their congeners, the Makololo). But neither the recurring armed conflicts nor the simultaneous migrations of certain tribes effected any substantial changes in the life and social system of the Bechuana tribes. The influence of European missionaries, who settled down in some Bechuana tribes, affected only a very insignificant number of Africans, whose conversion to Christianity was rather formal. Only in the tribes who happened to live in the Boer republics, established in the middle of the century, did a gradual process of partial disintegration of the tribal system begin (several families settled down on Boer holdings as tenants or labourers).

The Basuto

The *Basuto* people arose from the union of several Bechuana tribes at the beginning of the 19th century. Its originator was MOSHEU, the son of a minor Bechuana

chief. Early in the 19th century MOSHEU¹ united a number of Bechuana tribes in an alliance, which was soon joined by remnants of several Xhosa tribes that had been routed by Zulus. In 1824 MOSHEU settled down with his people in the region of the Taba-Bosigo Mountains, which constitute a sort of natural citadel. The region is rich in verdant pastures. Here the Basuto grew in strength so rapidly that in 1831 they successfully repelled the attacks of the Matabele tribes. Already in this fight against the Matabele MOSHEU manifested the wisdom and foresight of an able politician. When the starving troops of UMSILIKAZI were obliged to retreat, MOSHEU, instead of pursuing and destroying them, sent after them messengers with food and an offer of his friendship. Never since that time has there been any single conflict between the Basuto and Matabele.

And such clever diplomacy guided MOSHEU in his relations with the Europeans too. (It was for his diplomatic ability that British historians called him the "African Bismarck".) In the beginning he succeeded in establishing good neighbourly relations with the British authorities of Cape Colony which twice (1843, 1845) concluded with him even friendship pacts while recognizing the independence of his country. They did so because they expected to use him against the Boers, and in fact, at the time of the first Boer assaults, the British authorities helped MOSHEU to repel the attackers. But from 1850 onwards, as we have already seen,² the British also began, on different pretences, to make wars of conquest upon the Basuto.

At first the British scored no success but suffered a number of disastrous defeats. We have seen elsewhere that in the early fifties, after the failure of the British campaign against the Basuto, MOSHEU tried even to form an alliance between the Basuto and Boers against the British conquerors, and that just the danger of such an alliance compelled the British to seek agreement with the Boers and recognize the independence of their republics.

Not only did the Boers renounce the idea of an alliance with the Basuto, but, on the contrary, they entered into alliance with the British against the Basuto, and in the end, of course, the British and the Boers, owing to the immense superiority of their armament, succeeded in defeating the Basuto. In 1867 the Boers, after defeating the Basuto in two wars with the help of the British, occupied the whole of Basutoland. A year later, the British forced the Boers to renounce the Basuto territory and declared Basutoland an independent country—under the protectorate of Great Britain. In 1871, however, Britain annexed the country to Cape Colony.

Thus, after an almost incessant struggle of forty years, the Basuto lost their independence and fell under the rule of Cape Colony but did not acquiesce in this as we shall see further below.

The Makololo and the Barotse

When the Basuto tribes were united, one of them did not join the alliance and went farther north. This was the *Makololo* tribe led by its chief, SEBETUANE. During

¹ The British and the Boers later pronounced this name like "Moshesh" as though he had borne the name of the legendary leader of the Jewish people, Moses (which is pronounced in Hebrew like "Moshesh"). In fact, the name "Mosheu" is a word of African origin and signifies "razor". MOSHEU received this name from his people as a name of honour, indicating that in the many years of his struggle he had "razed off" all foes of his people.

² See pp. 236–237.

¹ R. MOFFAT, *Vingt-trois ans de séjour dans le Sud de l'Afrique* (Paris, 1846).

² J. MACKENSIE, *Ten Years North of the Orange River, 1859–1869* (London, 1871).

³ See pp. 245–246.

several decades, while the Basuto were fighting with the British and the Boers, the Makololo subjugated their congeners and several other tribes, the Barotse among them, and formed a tribal alliance under their own supreme rule and for a while established themselves between the Zambezi and Tchobe Rivers, in the territory of present-day Zambia.

In 1851 SEBETUANE died. Soon after his death the Makololo tribe was almost completely exterminated—partly by fever, partly by internecine wars—but the federation they had formed did not fall apart but developed into a large independent country, the “Marotse-Mabunda kingdom”, under Barotse rule.

In a quite different region, between Lake Nyasa and the Zambezi River, in the Shiré basin (territory of Nyasaland), there exists today a *new* tribe speaking the Makololo language. This tribe arose in the second half of the 19th century in a peculiar way. In 1859 one of the Makololo chiefs, SECHELE, sent with the departing LIVINGSTONE twenty young tribesmen, including two Makololos, to buy, on the coast, medicine against leprosy. These men did not return to the Makololo country but, after choosing a chief from among them, established themselves on the right bank of the Shiré and, admitting into their ranks fugitives from different tribes, developed into a big independent tribe, which preserved the name and language of the Makololo. In 1876 all the settlements along the Shiré River between the last cataracts and the mouth of the affluent Ruo were already under their rule. This tribe, adhering to the peaceful traditions of its founders, disciples of LIVINGSTONE, became one of the most pacific and peace-loving groups of the South African population, being engaged in agriculture and commerce, and highly responsive to European civilization.

The *Barotse* (Marotse, Lui, Luini) inhabit the basin of the upper Zambezi between the mouths of the Kabompo and Tchobe Rivers. In the first half of the 19th century the Barotse became dependent upon the Makololo, but in the sixties and seventies they in part exterminated, in part subjugated their former masters, as well as the Mabunda and many other tribes, and created the united “Marotse-Mabunda kingdom” which covered a territory of over 250,000 square kilometres with about a million inhabitants. Being the ruling tribe in the State, the Barotse did not mix with other tribes but preserved their tribal organization and usages. The women also were eligible for the “royal throne”, that is, the title of paramount. The king was regarded as the owner of the entire livestock of his people and had the monopoly of foreign trade. None of his subjects was allowed to possess any object more precious or more significant than the king did. The king governed with the help of two “councils”: that of the “intimates” which consisted of the nearest and most devoted to him, and the “great council” comprising representatives of all the tribes of the kingdom.

The Life of the Khoi-Khoi Tribes

We have seen that the creation of Cape Colony in the preceding period led to the break-up of a considerable part of the remaining Khoi-Khoi tribes, to their subjection to the colonists and to their partial mixture with Dutch settlers. Various tribal groups nevertheless survived, and in the 19th century Khoi-Khoi tribes of a new type arose from the several disintegrated minor tribes, or perhaps more correctly, remnants of tribes.

The *Koranna* Khoi-Khoi fully preserved their old tribal organization and usages. This tribe, living relatively far away from the colonists (on both banks of the middle

and upper reaches of the Orange River), was the last of all to enter into contact with Europeans. Attempts by the Koranna to expand southward were frustrated by the colonists, and westward, down the river (in the 18th century), met with opposition from the similarly Khoi-Khoi Namaqua tribe (see below). Afterwards the tribe split up into small groups, part of which fell under the influence of missionaries.

Another large Khoi-Khoi group, the *Namaqua*, which lived west of the Koranna, under the influence of the colonists divided into two. The Southern Namaqua, who encountered the Dutch already in the middle of the 17th century, gradually gave up tribalism and became dissolved in Cape Colony. The Northern Namaqua, in turn, retained their tribal usages and held fast to their tribal organization. At the very end of the 18th century, under the leadership of a talented chief, CHRISTIAN JAGER AFRIKANER, they at first repelled the Koranna attempts to seize their land, many times beat off even the ventures of colonists, and began expanding northward, fighting constantly the Herero advancing from the northwest. CHRISTIAN's son and successor, JUNKER AFRIKANER (1836–62), was still more successful in continuing this expansion; he inflicted several defeats upon the Herero, occupied the regions of Windhoek and Okahandja and, by the early sixties, established even a sort of Namaqua supremacy over the territories not only of the Herero, but of the Owambo as well.

After the death of JUNKER AFRIKANER, Namaqua rule over the Herero soon melted into thin air. The Herero conducted several liberation campaigns against the Namaqua (they were instigated and supplied with arms by the Swedish traveller ANDERSSON). JUNKER AFRIKANER's successor, CHRISTIAN, soon fell on the battlefield, and in the reign of his brother, JAN JUNKER AFRIKANER, the Herero under the leadership of their big chief, KAMAHHERERO, utterly defeated the Namaqua, upon which, in 1870 (through the mediation of German missionaries) the Herero and Namaqua concluded a peace treaty, by which both tribes were to retain their former territories. This peace, as we are going to see, did not last long.¹

The third tribe, the *Griqua*, as we have already seen, at the end of the 17th century “placed itself under the protection of the colonists”. Despite the fact that by their peaceful labour they virtually stood in the service of the colonists and even mixed with them in no small measure, as the colony was expanding the colonists drove them ever farther. As a consequence, the dispersed groups, which were joined by remnants of other disintegrated Khoi-Khoi tribes, at the beginning of the 19th century united under the leadership of a liberated slave (from the Mozambique coast), ADAM KOK, (according to extant sources) of “Negro” (Sudanic) origin, and in 1810, crossing the Orange River below the mouth of the Vaal River, founded in this region a “free State” of their own (Griqualand). Afterwards they often had to resort to arms to defend their independence from the Boers (for example, in the war of 1814), and in consequence of internal strifes they broke up into three groups (every one of which was called a “tribe”). Each of these groups later repeatedly released more or less important teams, which then settled down separately, while each of them from time to time absorbed remnants of other, both Khoi-Khoi and Bantu, tribes so that by the middle of the 19th century the Griqua people was an ethnically mixed people, whose main fermenting element nevertheless was made up of the Khoi-Khoi. In the early fifties Griqualand virtually fell under British supremacy.

After the recognition by Great Britain of the independence of the Orange Free State (1854), the Boers of this republic began ousting the neighbouring Eastern Griqua groups. To avoid being driven away, the Eastern Griqua first tried to move

¹ See p. 387, footnote.

northward (to Lake Ngami and the Zambezi), and when they did not succeed, in 1862 they traversed the Drakensberg Mountains into what was called a "no-man's-land" between the territory of the colonists and the Xhosa. Thus they avoided being driven away by the Boers, but they did not long enjoy their independence, since their new country known as "Griqualand East" was soon annexed by Britain to Cape Colony.

The Western Griqua who remained in the region of the right bank of the lower course of the Vaal did not preserve their independence for long either. Until the late sixties, though being in permanent quarrels with the Boers, they held out, but the discovery of diamonds in their territory — as we have seen above — definitely fulfilled their fate, and in 1871 "Griqualand West" also became part of Cape Colony.

Internal Development of the British Colonies until 1870

As we have seen, the principal feature in the history of both British colonies (Cape Colony and Natal) during the quarter century following the trek was their aspiration for the subjugation of the Boer and African peoples. During this period there was no substantial change in the internal policy of the British colonies. After the departure from Cape Colony of the Boers most opposed to the regime, the struggle of the colonists against British rule abated for a while. But already in the middle of the forties the movement for representative institutions among the remaining Boers was again strengthening.

The dissatisfaction of the colonists and their readiness to fight for political liberties received a singular expression in the so-called anti-convict movement. In the late forties the British government decided to use Cape Colony as a place of exile for convicts. The colonists started a wide movement of protest, and when in 1849 the first shipment of convicts arrived at the Cape, the colonists prevented by force the ship from dropping anchor. The movement against the British regime assumed such threatening proportions that the British government saw fit to satisfy the demands of the colonists; to reverse its decision concerning the convicts, and in order to appease the settlers, the supreme administrative organ of the colony was commissioned to prepare the introduction of a parliamentary system in the colony.

In 1853, indeed, the Cape Parliament and a responsible government, or rather a parody of parliament and responsible ministries, were established for the Parliament was a consultative rather than legislative body, and the ministers were responsible not to Parliament but to the British governor. Nevertheless, this reform enabled Britain to check, for a long while, the movement of the Boer colonists.

Another decision, aimed at weakening the Boer colonists, was that in the fifties large numbers of German colonists were settled there (with the support of the British government).

After the departure of the Boers, the majority of the Natal colonists in 1848 was made up of the British (many German colonists were here settled also in the fifties). The same year, 1848, saw the setting up of a legislature, consisting mainly of British colonists. In 1856 Natal was separated from Cape Colony and made an independent colony.

The economic exploitation of both colonies was pursued at a forced pace from 1850 onwards. In the course of 14 years (1850—64) the exports of Cape Colony increased fourfold (from £637,000 to £2,594,000), and the exports of Natal was multiplied by twelve (from £17,000 to £220,000). Cape Colony exported, above all, wool, hides,

25. Basutos fighting with the British and the Boers (see pp. 244—245)



26. Basuto chief Mosheu (see p. 245)



27—28. The peoples of the Eastern Sudan in battle against the British invaders (the Baker expedition) (see p. 267)

ostrich feathers and wine, while Natal's exports consisted of wool, hides and ivory. In the fifties sugar cane and cotton plantations were set up in Natal. From 1860 onwards, the plantations indentured workers from India. In the years 1859 to 1864 the first railway of Cape Colony was constructed — from Capetown to Wellington — over a length of 45 miles. But this relative economic upsurge was short-lived. From 1864 onwards, the volume of exports from both colonies went down year by year. A new economic prosperity did not set in until the very end of the sixties as a result of the discovery of diamond reefs.

Portuguese and British Attempts at Expansion in Southeast Africa

After the seizure of Cape Colony by Britain, Portugal set herself the task of expanding her possessions in Southeast Africa to the west, in order to prevent a wedge forming between her West and East African possessions in the form of a British South African colonial empire. For this purpose, the Portuguese LACERDA (from Brazil), the "Governor of Zambezia", in the years 1796—98 undertook a great exploration in Central Africa and visited the country of Kazembe. He explored the entire course of the Zambezi and the region of Lake Mweru, where — according to one of the eminent British colonizers, H. JOHNSTON — he "in time fell a victim to the fatigues of his explorations".¹ After his death the general political situation in Europe distracted the attention of the Portuguese rulers from this problem.

In 1822 the expedition of a British admiral, OWEN, appeared in Delagoa Bay. Coming to agreement with one of the African chiefs, he acquired for Britain the region of the southern shores of the bay. At that time, however, the British government preferred to renounce the setting up of a new colony.

In the thirties and forties Portugal resumed the investigation of the interior regions (lakes Nyasa, Bangweolo, Mweru), but Britain followed with keen attention every step of the Portuguese expeditions, and their achievements awakened her interest in the interior of Southeast Africa. And, of course, it was not for his scientific merits, nor was it for his achievements in the missionary field, that the great traveller LIVINGSTONE, returning to London from his first grandiose journey in South Africa (1840—56), was welcomed with open arms by the British government. Two years later (1858) he set out on a second journey, this time with the official government task of exploring the central regions of Southeast Africa to find out the geographical characteristics and natural resources of those countries with a view to preparing their subsequent seizure and colonial exploitation by Britain. This second journey of LIVINGSTONE (1858—64) was financed from government funds, and the traveller was accompanied by the government agent KIRK (later political representative of Great Britain at Zanzibar).

LIVINGSTONE and other British missionaries made several attempts to set up British missionary stations in the region of Lake Nyasa under the pretence of the struggle against the slave trade. The missionaries committed many outrages there, incited the Africans against the Portuguese, as well as tribes against one another. Certain British missionaries, such as Bishop MACKENSIE, personally led the military operations of some tribes against others. But their attempts failed completely. Popular indignation in Britain at the missionary outrages and the protests of Portugal² compelled the British government to recall LIVINGSTONE in 1864. True, he soon

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 106.

² See JOSÉ DE LACERDA, *Reply to Dr. Livingstone's Accusations and Misrepresentations*.

afterwards continued his researches in the region of Lake Nyasa (1866—68), but for the time being his activities were limited to scientific explorations.

German Penetration into South Africa

In the mid-19th century the Germans appeared in South Africa. To begin with, they also engaged in the "exploration" of the interior areas. Certain German travelers — besides doing reconnaissance work for their government — really carried out valuable investigations, for example, HAHN, MAUCH and MOHR.

In addition, many German missionaries went to South Africa. They established themselves in different regions of Cape Colony and Natal, but especially among the Africans in Damaraland and Namaqualand in Southwest Africa.

Finally, in the fifties the settling of German colonists increased. There were a certain number of German emigrants among the old-time Boer settlers too, but they had already assimilated with the descendants of Dutch and French colonists. The new inflow of Germans began in 1854. Late in the fifties the British government, in order to strengthen the military position of the colony in the struggle against the Africans, settled in Cape Colony 1,300 German soldiers who had fought in the Crimean War against Russia in the ranks of the "foreign legion" on the side of Britain. The British government accorded favourable conditions to the new "farmers", and thus many German immigrants joined their numbers in later years, too.

But Germany herself in these years turned her main attention to the southwest territories unoccupied yet by the British. The number of German missionary stations in Damaraland and Namaqualand grew constantly, and in 1864 the German missionaries purchased immense estates in the region of Walvis Bay from an English company and declared this territory German possession.

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CHAPTER V

EAST AFRICA

THE PEOPLES OF EAST AFRICA IN THE 19TH CENTURY (UP TO 1870)

Origin of the Sultanate of Zanzibar

As is known, the Arabs already in the 18th century had definitely conquered the East African coast from the Portuguese. Arab domination in East Africa strengthened further in the 19th century. The internecine struggle of big and little Arab rulers at the beginning of the 19th century ended in the complete subjection of the entire East African littoral between Mogadishu and Cape Delgado to the imam of Muscat, SEYYID SAID, who reigned from 1806 to 1856, and was the last imam of Muscat to rule over both Muscat and the African littoral. After arduous struggles over many years with local sultans in Africa he established firm control over the entire coast and in 1840 definitively transferred his seat from Muscat to the island of Zanzibar.

The sultan of Zanzibar controlled, as before, only a narrow strip on the coast never undertaking any attempts to penetrate into the interior regions of East Africa.

In the first half of the 19th century Great Britain took steps to extend her influence to the Muscat-controlled coastal regions, and in the middle of the century there began Anglo-German intrigues in Zanzibar, as well as the reconnoitring journey and intensifying competition of British and German travellers, missionaries and other government agents in the interior regions of East Equatorial Africa.

Migration of East African Peoples and Their Internecine Struggles

Meanwhile, at the dawn of the 19th century central East Africa was the scene of new great tribal migrations. A new round of intertribal wars began, and by the middle of the century the whole territory became an almost compact theatre of unceasing armed struggles.

The causes and the character of these struggles were different in the various regions.

When at the beginning of the 19th century the Zulus created their powerful military State in South Africa, under their pressure certain Southern Bantu tribes who had once migrated southward from East Africa (Wamakua, Wayao) were again compelled to move northward. Simultaneously the tribes that had broken away from the Zulus (Matabele and Angoni)¹ started to advance northward.

All these tribes, in order to secure new territory where to live in peace farther away from the Zulus, had to displace other tribes. Thus began a new great migra-

¹ See p. 242 ff.

tion of the peoples of Southeast Africa in the northerly direction, which was to last for about half a century. Concomitant to this were, of course, unceasing intertribal wars.

New internecine wars of the Eastern Bantu started: wars of the tribes returning from the south with the tribes inhabiting the immense East African region between the ocean and the Great Lakes.

A number of tribes coming from the south (Angoni), having learned the art of war from the Zulus who had driven them away, began defeating the East African tribes one after another and seized their lands. Since they adopted their armament and their methods of warfare from the Zulus, they received in literature the nickname "ape-Zulus".

As a result of these campaigns, East Africa in the middle of the 19th century again became the arena of endless migrations and tribal wars. Most Eastern Bantu tribes for half a century had to fight for their land and for existence. Some tribes before long succeeded in establishing themselves in regions somewhat remote from the main route of migrations. (For example, the Manganja tribe which settled down west of Lake Nyasa, while the principal wave of the migration of peoples drifted along the east shore of the lake.) Other tribes (*e.g.*, the Wayao) had to change their place of residence several times over many decades.

A number of such Eastern Bantu tribes, which had formerly known no kind of union beyond primitive tribalism, began to develop (temporary or permanent) tribal alliances.

Of the highest consequence to the modern history of the East African peoples were the changes which in the period under review occurred in the *Wanyamwezi* and *Wahehe* tribes.

The Wanyamwezi

The *Wanyamwezi* inhabit a vast area in the west of present-day Tanzania, and various of their groups established themselves as colonists in several other regions, east of their principal place of residence. Besides the main stock, the Nyamwezi proper, they include the Wavinza, Wassumbwa, Wassukuma, Wagala, Wakonongo, Wakingu and other tribes. Prior to the 19th century they had been split into small tribes, each of which had its own chief (*mtemi*). The post of the chief was hereditary, but his power was rather limited: the right of final decision was vested in the council of elders (*wanyampara*). In the 19th century the *Wanyamwezi* tribes time and again united in military alliances.

The Wahehe

The *Wahehe* occupy the plains and tablelands between the two branches of the upper Ruaha River (Great and Little Ruaha) where they came from the region situated north of the Ruaha towards the end of the 18th century. In the constant struggles with kindred tribes of the Wabena and Wassangu, and even with the Angoni, the *Wahehe* in the middle of the 19th century united in a strong military organization upon the model of the military State of the Zulus whose weapons, fortifications and methods of warfare they imitated.

Increasing Arab Penetration

Meanwhile, in this period full of hardships to the East African peoples, other ruthless foes appeared in the interior of East Africa: the Arab slave merchants. As is known, they had long before established themselves on the East African coast. They had also long been engaged in the traffic in slaves and ivory, procuring their merchandise from the interior of the continent as well. But before the middle of the century this traffic was conducted either with the help of certain East African tribes, whose chiefs fell under Arab influence, or by means of occasional expeditions. And now the Arab merchants intruded into the heart of East Africa, occupied whole villages and even regions, founded settlements, etc. The local tribes resisted, of course, but "wars" between them and the Arabs were out of question, because the Arabs possessed modern firearms while the East African tribes were armed only with spears and bows and arrows. The Arab slave traders mercilessly chased and carried off sons and daughters of the African tribes by the thousand into slavery.

As regards the coast, the Arab influence in this period struck still deeper roots. The result was an almost full control by Arab commercial capital over the markets of East Africa, the complete Arabicization of the coastal tribes (Swahili), a tighter union of the coastal cities with Arabic culture, etc.

The Masai

Just as in the south and the central part of East Africa, the storm was also raging in the northern regions of East Equatorial Africa, between the ocean coast and Lakes Rudolf and Victoria. By the middle of the 19th century the dominant position here was acquired by the Masai tribes.¹ Their struggle with the Wakuazi by this time ended in the final defeat of the latter, who were compelled to move on. The remnants of the Wakuazi partly settled in the regions of Meru, Nguruman, Kahe, Arusha, Taveta, etc., partly joined the Wandorobo and also became hunters. The Masai, on the other hand, thanks to their warlike character and strict military organization, became the dominant force over the vast plains of the northeast part of present-day Tanzania and in the west of the territory of today's Kenya.

The agricultural Bantu tribes living pell-mell with the Masai or in their neighbourhood were poorly equipped with arms and were unable to offer appreciable resistance, the more so because their majority (the Wagogo, Wakamba, Wateita, etc.) were not even organized in united tribes. The Masai assaults upon villages of these tribes always resulted either in their being pillaged or in their delivering a considerable quantity of cattle to the victorious Masai. The name Masai became for the tribes of this part of East Africa — and for the caravans of Arab merchants traversing those regions — the most terrible name, meaning war and mortal danger. At the same time, the exceptional bravery of the Masai, their military talents and exploits, and their well-drilled organization (a rare occurrence under African conditions), earned respect and admiration in many Bantu tribes. Some of them began to imitate the Masai warriors by dressing in the Masai manner, adopting Masai weapons, habits, etc. We think, however, that we may speak about "tribes imitating the Masai" only with reserve. Ethnographical literature, in particular, usually mentions the *Wagogo* as "Masai imitators" (RATZEL even nicknamed them "ape-Masai"). The truth is,

¹ See pp. 151 — 152.

however, that the Wagogo really adopted clothing and especially armament not only from the Masai but also from all peoples whom they encountered, everything they considered helpful to defensive struggles with other tribes, including the Masai (and later on the Germans). Thus they adopted the spear, sword, cudgel and shield used by the Masai, the Wassagara knife, bow and arrow (which the Masai used only as hunting implements but never in war), the double-edged sword of the Wakamba and Wanyika, and the firearms of the Arabs.

Despite the powerful influence the Masai exercised on the neighbouring Eastern Bantu tribes, they did not mix with them. Complete isolation from anything alien was always characteristic of the Masai and was of decisive consequence to their social and economic development. Being victorious in armed conflicts with other tribes, they looted mainly their cattle, and took from them certain stocks of provisions, but they never strove for permanent subjugation of the Bantu tribes. Moreover, they did not make captives either. They did not enslave the men of vanquished tribes, nor did they carry away their women for wives or slaves. But even the negative attitude towards mixture with alien tribes could not, of course, prevent young Masai warriors from having, during campaigns, fleeting ties with women of other tribes. A study in the physical types of East Africa has shown that even the blood of the present-day Masai contains only the most infinitesimal portion of Bantu blood, while traces of Masai blood can be found in quite a number of Bantu tribes, such as the Wajagga, Wagogo, Wassukuma, Wapare, etc.¹

The Masai were abiding by self-isolation not only from the Bantu tribes but also from Hamitic nationalities (Somalis, Gallas, etc.), as well as from the Arabs and Europeans.

This self-isolation had two consequences:

1. Although they were the most warlike nation in all East Africa, vanquishing a multitude of other tribes and even utterly defeating some of them, the Masai never became conquerors in the usual sense of the word. They sometimes occupied new grazing grounds, looted cattle, but they did not become the subjugators and permanent rulers of the pastoral tribes as did other warlike nomadic tribes (the Berbers in the Western and Central Sudan, the Arabs in the Central and Eastern Sudan, the Wahuma in Uganda). As a result, theirs was not the fate that befell those peoples who, while being the conquering rulers, nevertheless fell under the cultural influence of the pastoral tribes they had subjugated, gradually becoming settled agricultural tribes themselves and mixing with the vanquished. The Masai contented themselves with making use of the pastoral culture of other peoples, but without adopting this culture themselves.

2. In contradistinction to the Somalis, Gallas and other Hamitic tribes of nomadic shepherds, the Masai remained, until the final conquest of their territory by Europeans, entirely beyond the reach of the influence of any kind of non-African culture, including the influence of Islam.

The fact that they remained almost entirely unaffected by external influences determined the backwardness of their economy, the extremely feeble development of productive forces in comparison with the surrounding peoples.

This extremely feeble development of productive forces, which doomed them to utmost backwardness in the economic field, was in turn the main cause of their exceptionally high martial spirit and aggressiveness. Livestock meant to them the almost exclusive means of subsistence. As they tended their cattle with utmost care

¹ See MERKER, *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1904), p. 135 ff.

(verging, as we shall see later, on a sort of religious cult), to provide for all needs of the tribe without infringing the traditional rules of looking after the animals they had to have herds far exceeding in numbers those of their entire tribe. Under primitive living conditions (their reduced safety from wild beasts, their utter helplessness in the struggle against epidemics), the natural growth of their livestock by no means provided the rapidly growing tribes with the necessary numbers of cattle. The only feasible solution was to increase their herds systematically by looting the cattle of other tribes. This is the only explanation of the "warlike character" and "aggressiveness" of the Masai, which many "learned" ethnologists and historians regard as some sort of "innate" racial characteristics of the Masai.¹

The Wahuma States

There was only one region in the interior of East Africa which was affected neither by the migrations of the Southeast African peoples nor by the military campaigns of the Masai — the territory of the *Wahuma States*.

What we know for absolutely certain of the history of the Wahuma States dates from the middle of the 19th century, when they became the target of intensifying incursions by Arab merchants.

In the middle of the 19th century (from 1836 till 1860) the *kabaka* ("king") of the most significant and strongest of the Wahuma States, Buganda, was SUNNA II. He was a great conqueror, and under his reign Buganda began to rule both over all the other Wahuma States and over a number of neighbouring countries and tribes. At the same time he granted free access to Arab merchants whose friendship he exploited materially for the strengthening of the might of his country.

SUNNA wanted his eldest son, as warlike a man as himself, to succeed him on the throne. But upon his death the tribal chiefs of Buganda chose SUNNA's youngest son, MUTESA.

British travellers and historians in their narratives of MUTESA's election give the explanation that the peoples of Buganda were tired of SUNNA's eternal wars, and MUTESA until his accession to the throne showed himself a peace-minded man, and therefore the people preferred him to his warlike brother. But, these authors go on to say, the people was soon to be disappointed in MUTESA. He did not make war, it is true, but he nevertheless proved to be a ruthless and bloodthirsty man who put hundreds of his tribesmen to death for the slightest offence, etc.²

Actually such was not the case. Why the chiefs of Buganda decided to choose MUTESA instead of his brother, we cannot tell. (Although, knowing all about MUTESA's life story, we can hardly doubt that he was chosen because he was wiser and more talented.) But MUTESA was neither less warlike nor less cruel than his father. And if he almost entirely abstained from external wars, establishing a still more ruthless regime within his country, it was not at all because he was against war and for cruelty, but because he was a wise politician who was aware that new times had come which required a new policy.

¹ For example, HILDEBRANDT calls them the "African Huns", and ROBERT HARTMANN describes them as "dangerous and incorrigible bandits", etc. See J. M. HILDEBRANDT, "Von Mombasa nach Kitui" (*Zeitschr. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1789); R. HARTMANN, *Abyssinien und die übrigen Gebiete der Ostküste Afrikas* (Leipzig, 1883), pp. 215, 217.

² See STANLEY, *Through the Dark Continent* (London, 1890; new ed.), p. 238.

His father still saw in the Arab merchants harmless friends. MUTESA already understood that the Arab invasion of the country was fraught with great dangers. SUNNA, who in constant wars gathered increasing masses of slaves, attached no special importance to the fact that Arab merchants were carrying off people from the country. MUTESA understood the senselessness of conquering new territories and capturing new slaves, letting his own people shed their blood for this purpose, and at the same time letting the Arabs have more and more of his land and tolerating them to carry off people from his country. He understood that the Arab merchants were in fact no friends, but foes of the Buganda tribes; on the other hand, he was also aware that this enemy was much stronger than the small tribes SUNNA had been fighting. He knew that sometime he would have to get even with this powerful enemy. But exactly because he realized that he would have to wage a great war in the future, he was anxious to avoid any small wars of the old style.

He felt that the country had already enough of the conquests, and considered the main task to be the protection of land conquered. And in fact, by preparing for the big decisive war with the strong enemy, he pursued a policy of peace. And within the country, in order to make his people strong enough and apt to wage the great war, he enforced stern discipline. What the British travellers considered to be particular cruelty and bloodthirstiness was in fact a conscious regime of discipline and education, but, of course, in the African manner. In spite of his good qualities, MUTESA was not a "civilized" European but an "uncultured" African. He educated and disciplined his warriors and his people by such methods as were in harmony with the usages and traditions of his people. These methods, while often seeming to Europeans "horrible" and "sanguinary", were quite natural and understandable to the peoples of Buganda.

Aware of the fact that the time had not yet come to fight the Arabs, that thorough preparations were needed first, MUTESA did not show openly his hostile feelings towards the Arabs. For the sake of appearances he continued to maintain friendly contacts with them as had done his father.

In the middle of the 19th century the Arabs penetrated into other Wahuma States, too. They had particularly strong influence upon the ruling *Wanyoro* chiefs in the Bunyoro State.

The First British Attempts on the East Coast

From the beginning of the 19th century British ships, under the pretext of the "struggle against the slave trade in the Indian Ocean", were ever more frequent visitors at Zanzibar. Agents of the British government in 1822 forced SEYYID SAID to sign an agreement by which he pledged himself not to tolerate slaves to be sold to Christians. Captain OWEN, who had come to Africa in 1822 with a big expedition "to explore" (under commission from the British government) the east and west littorals of Africa, in 1824 intervened in the internecine struggle between the imam of Muscat and the sultan of Mombasa, and seized Mombasa for Britain.

Thanks to the resoluteness of SEYYID SAID and to the hesitation of the then British government in respect of the foundation of new colonies, this seizure was not sanctioned by the British government. The incident, however, put SEYYID SAID on his guard in the face of the British and led him to follow with attention every step of the British agents in his possessions. In the matter of the struggle against the slave trade, he accepted a number of treaties so far as it was possible without prejudice

to his sovereignty. It is characteristic that in 1833 he concluded a trade agreement with the government of the United States of America.

Anglo-German Rivalry in East Africa. Secession of Zanzibar from Muscat

After SEYYID SAID had moved to Zanzibar, Great Britain appointed there her "consul general" (1841) and obtained the passive support of the sultan for her ships to chase slave ships along the east coasts of Zanzibar.

By this time there appeared in East Africa the first Germans, in the person of two missionaries, KRAPF and REBMANN. The German priest KRAPF, who was in the service of a British missionary society, having failed in his mission to Ethiopia, in 1842 went to Zanzibar and obtained the sultan's permission for opening a missionary station on the African coast (Rabai). After settling down there, KRAPF and another German missionary, REBMANN, a few years later made several journeys into the heart of East Africa (1848-49), discovered Mt. Kilimanjaro and explored Kenya.

The researches of KRAPF and REBMANN aroused the attention of the British. The death of SEYYID SAID (1856), the ensuing division of his empire (into the Arab sultanate in Muscat, headed by SAID's eldest son, SUENI, and the African sultanate of Zanzibar, headed by his youngest son, SEYYID MEJID) and the resulting decline of the power of the sultan of Zanzibar over East Africa made both Britain and her rivals, Germany and France, interested in the East African territories. From the late eighteen-fifties began a veritable race between Great Britain and Germany in the "exploration" of East Africa. The British travellers BURTON and SPEKE in 1857-58 discovered Lake Tanganyika and the southern shore of Lake Victoria. One year later the German traveller DECKEN made his appearance at Zanzibar and became engaged in the exploration of the interior of East Africa (1859-65). Simultaneously, coming from the south, there appeared in the inland countries of East Africa LIVINGSTONE, who investigated these countries far and wide for Britain, with some interruptions, for fourteen years (1859-73). Almost at the same time with LIVINGSTONE, in 1860, the German traveller ROSCHER appeared at Lake Nyasa. In the same year SPEKE set out for the second time together with GRANT and discovered the sources of the Nile. They were followed by the BAKER expedition (1861-65), which discovered Lake Albert; next to this went the German SCHWEINFURTH (1868-71), who explored many regions of the central and eastern parts of Equatorial Africa.

As long as the travellers were exploring the interior regions of East Africa, British diplomats intensified their intrigues in Zanzibar with a view to further weakening and isolating the sultanate, while France and Germany jealously looked at every step of the British diplomats. In 1859 Britain pitted the sultan of Zanzibar, SEYYID MEJID, against his brother, the imam of Muscat. SEYYID MEJID started a struggle for "Zanzibar's independence from Muscat", and in 1861 Britain succeeded in bringing about the secession of Zanzibar from Muscat. The "independence" of Zanzibar was bought from the sultan of Muscat for an annual rent of 40,000 dollars, which Britain paid off in the name of the sultan of Zanzibar.

Since this action gave rise to protests on the part of France, Britain in 1863 made with her an agreement on "mutual recognition of the independence of Zanzibar". But after concluding this agreement as a blind, the British government not only did not stop but even increased its intrigues in Zanzibar. In 1866 it appointed there as vice-consul an ex-participant of an expedition of LIVINGSTONE's to East Africa, KIRK, who under the pretext of increasing the campaign against the slave trade displayed

feverish activity in strengthening the British influence over the government of the sultan of Zanzibar.

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THE EASTERN SUDAN

Conquest of the Sudan by Mohammed Ali

At the beginning of the 19th century, when for lack of unity the Eastern Sudan peoples declined and weakened, their entire country was conquered by MOHAMMED ALI, and the peoples were oppressed by Egyptian merchants and officials.

Taking possession of Egypt (1811), MOHAMMED ALI proceeded to conquer the Sudan, hoping to utilize the physical and human resources of this extensive country in the impending struggle with the Ottoman empire for the independence of Egypt.

The immediate reason for his organizing a campaign against the Sudan was the fact that the remnants of the Mameluks he had beaten in Egypt had taken refuge in Nubia. MOHAMMED ALI's first campaign against Nubia was unsuccessful, since the Mameluks marching through the Nile valley had devastated everything in their way. Moving forward in the Nile valley in pursuit of the Mameluks, the troops of MOHAMMED ALI found themselves in a wilderness and were compelled to return to Egypt.

The Mameluks established themselves in Dongola which they had taken, and their provocative behaviour aroused the indignation of the surrounding tribes, first of all, the dominating tribe of the region, the *Shaikia*. And when, in 1819, the troops of MOHAMMED ALI again appeared in Nubia on the trail of the Mameluks, the *Shaikia* in their turn also assaulted them. The Mameluks were thus annihilated.

But the *Shaikia* were soon to be disappointed in their Egyptian "allies": the Egyptian "liberators" proved to be usurpers of the worst possible type. An Egyptian military expedition under MOHAMMED ALI's son, ISMAIL PASHA, did not rest content with the capture of Dongola, but immediately set off farther south. The scattered weak tribes and small sheikhdoms could not, of course, resist. After conquering all Nubia for Egypt, the expedition advanced further to conquer Sennar and Kordofan. The campaign lasted three years. Owing to the superiority of its weapons, the expedition succeeded in occupying the entire south of the Eastern Sudan, despite the heroic resistance of its peoples. By the middle of the year 1822 Kordofan and Sennar found themselves under the rule of Egypt.

But the outrageous conduct of the usurpers in 1822 led to a revolt of the *Shaikia* people under *melik* NEMIR. In October 1822 the entire expedition of ISMAIL PASHA was overtaken in a drunken sleep after a great feast at Shendi. They were exterminated to the last man.

Upon this MOHAMMED ALI sent a punitive expedition against the *Shaikia*. This expedition took a brutal revenge upon the population by killing about 40,000 people.

But it could not defeat the insurgents. The latter, under the command of their leader, *melik* NEMIR, withdrew to the Ethiopian frontier and founded there an independent State with Kafta as its capital city.

The Sudan under the Rule of Mohammed Ali

For the next few decades the Eastern Sudan was a province of Egypt. In the first half of the 19th century the Eastern Sudan, as the result of Egyptian oppression, was one of those countries where the breath of new times was felt least of all. The slave trade assumed such proportions and such cruel forms as never before. The peoples of the Sudan were suffering from two plagues: the slave trade and the unbearable burden of taxes levied by the Egyptian government and the local satraps. They were subjected to ruthless oppression on the part of the Egyptian soldiery and officials. Egyptian and Arab merchants continuously conducted campaigns in quest of ivory and slaves. The latter they procured, as a rule, by forcibly kidnapping Africans in the southern provinces of the Sudan. Suffering most of all from these predatory expeditions were, as in the previous period, the Nilotic tribes (mainly the *Dinka*) and the dispersed small tribes of Kordofan and Darfur (the *Nuba*, who in the struggle with the manhunters were gradually driven off their former land on the plains to live thereafter almost exclusively in the hills), and, among the tribes of the region between the Nile and the Congo, the *Bongo*.

Competing with the alien merchants in the hunt for slaves and easy profits were also the Egyptian officials, who fleeced both the popular masses and the slave traders. Among participants of the slave trade were also certain rich merchants from the local — chiefly Arab — population. It should be noted that some Nilotic tribes (*Dinka*, *Bari*), though wretchedly suffering from slave-raiding expeditions themselves, also took part in such campaigns against other tribes.

Britain and France at that time were intently watching the events in the Sudan, preparing its conquest. Pretending to be shocked at the slave trade going on there, they repeatedly protested against the piratic regime established in the Sudan by Egypt. MOHAMMED ALI promised to put an end to the slave trade. In the years 1838—39 he embarked on a ceremonial journey across the Sudan with the alleged purpose of restoring order. In fact, besides solemn speeches and the ostentatious liberation of a number of slaves, there was nothing this journey of MOHAMMED ALI's brought to the people of the Sudan. Everything remained as it had been before.

It is true, MOHAMMED ALI and the French capitalists backing him made several attempts to organize the capitalist exploitation of certain resources of the country, but without any noticeable results. Even general reforms introduced by MOHAMMED ALI in Egypt did nothing to alleviate the situation in the Sudan. During all his reign (until he was declared imbecile in 1848) the rule of terror and violence continued weighing upon the peoples of the Sudan.

Neither did the situation change in the short reigns of his successors, IBRAHIM (1848—49) and ABBAS (1849—54).

French Expeditions in the Time of Mohammed Ali

In the first half of the 19th century there was no question of European powers rivalling in the Eastern Sudan, because MOHAMMED ALI clung to a policy of decidedly French orientation. During his entire reign Egypt and the Sudan were flooded with

French agents in the person of military instructors, engineers, mechanics, missionaries and travellers.

Already the military expedition of ISMAIL in 1819–21 was accompanied by a French "exploring party" under a Frenchman appointed by MOHAMMED ALI, FRÉDÉRIC CAILLAUD, as "inspector of the mines likely to be discovered and exploited." Discover mines he did not, but he explored the Bahr el Azraq, Bahr el Abyad and Takkaze Rivers and the region between them (the Isle of Meroe) and made many valuable geographical discoveries. Luckily for him, he left the ISMAIL expedition to return to Egypt not long before it came to so dismal an end.

The 1838–39 expedition of MOHAMMED ALI also included a few Frenchmen, and in 1840 a big Franco-Egyptian expedition was sent into the Sudan to explore the upper Nile. This expedition has no equal in all the history of explorations. The kind of "scientific" investigations it conducted is clearly shown by its composition. It had a flotilla of 10 ships, the crews consisting of eight officers, 250 soldiers and 150 sailors. The troops were under the command of the leader of the expedition and his adjutant, both Egyptian Turkish officers. The commander of the flotilla also was a Turk. Two Kurds, a Russian, an Albanian and a Persian completed the officer corps. Among the soldiers and sailors there were Egyptians, Syrians, Arabs, Nuba and Sudanese. The exploration party of the expedition consisted of three French engineers. Travelling as a private passenger, at his own expense, was the German naturalist WERNE. The officers were indulging in hard drinking, hunting and every kind of amusement. (The leader of the expedition even took with him a slave girl guarded by a eunuch.) The crew behaved themselves licentiously, the soldiers did as they pleased. The only member of the expedition to engage in real explorations was the "private" passenger, the German WERNE, but the scandalous conditions of the expedition and the passiveness of the French engineers prevented him from achieving much. After travelling over the countries of the Shilluks, the Dinka and the Bari and reaching Gondokoro, the expedition, on the invented pretext of difficulties in the food supply, returned to Khartoum in April 1841. The French did not even report any findings, it was only WERNE who published many interesting data concerning the regions and tribes they had visited.

Other European nations in the first half of the 19th century made only desultory attempts to explore the Eastern Sudan. Among the travellers of this period there were a great many Germans, Austrians and Italians, even two Russians (A. NOROV and E. P. KOVALEVSKI) but not a single Englishman.

Power Rivalry in the Sudan after the Death of Mohammed Ali and Preparations for the British Conquest of the Sudan

From the eighteen-fifties began a new stage in the history of the Sudan. The general change in the policy of European powers for more intense activity made itself felt in the Sudan, too, the more so because the very situation in the Sudan was favourable to their aspirations. After the death of MOHAMMED ALI the central power in Egypt slackened considerably. The power of Egypt over the Sudan was also decaying. This stimulated the European powers to the conquest of the Sudan. While in the first half of the 19th century the only somewhat serious attempts to explore the Sudan were made by France, and besides Frenchmen there were only occasional travellers from other countries, the eighteen-fifties saw the beginning of a veritable competition of European powers in the exploration of the Sudan. Moreover, while during

the fifties the rivalry took the form of a race between individual travellers, and the main rivals of the French still remained the Germans, Austrians and Italians, from the early sixties this competition of individual travellers from many nations degenerated into a struggle of the three greatest powers: France, Germany and Britain. Individual travellers and explorers were replaced by big expeditions organized—or at least financed—by the governments themselves.

As soon as ISMAIL came to power in Egypt (1863), Britain began to exercise predominant influence upon Egypt. She made use of her influence for switching from the "exploration" of the Sudan over to preparations for its conquest under the pretence of rendering friendly "assistance" to the Egyptian government. Therefore, on the noble pretext of the struggle against the slave trade, she flooded the country with a host of agents, not only travellers but also officers in Egyptian service.

One of the most prominent British agents in the Sudan was SAMUEL BAKER, who went to the country as a scientific explorer (1861–65), but in a few years became the "Egyptian" governor of the Equatorial province of the Sudan and in 1869 led a second expedition, this time commissioned and financed by the Egyptian government, with the alleged object of liquidating the slave trade. The real goal of this expedition was the conquest of new regions in Central Africa, nominally for Egypt but in fact for Britain. By the firman BAKER received from the khedive (ISMAIL PASHA), he was invested, in addition to the command of the expedition, with unlimited and supreme power over "all the countries in the White Basin south of Gondokoro."¹

Practically, this second expedition of BAKER's was a campaign against the peoples of the Sudan, which, on the pretext of the "struggle against the slave trade," were partly exterminated and partly enslaved for the benefit of British capital.

Darfur and Bahr el Ghazal in the 19th Century

Darfur, as is known, was one of those Moslem States founded by Arabs in the Central Sudan whose principal populations were Sudanese. Its history over many centuries, as we have seen, was closely connected with the histories of a number of other Central Sudan countries, Wadai in particular. True, early in the 17th century, under SOLEIMAN SOLON, Darfur began to extend its authority to the east, and for a time subjugated the Eastern Sudan countries of Kordofan and Sennar. But this rule consisted, in the main, in levying taxes upon those countries and did not last long. Neither the contact with these eastern countries nor the occasional minor military excursions to the east led to any substantial changes in the life of the peoples of Darfur.

The situation changed with the advent of the 19th century. The events in Egypt and in the Sudan, from the very outset of the new period, began to worry the rulers of Darfur and soon became a threat to the independence of the State, thus linking the destinies of Darfur to those of the Eastern Sudan. While until the end of the 18th century it was its relations with Wadai that determined the fate of Darfur, from the beginning of the 19th century the decisive factor in its life were its relations with the Eastern Sudan.

¹ See BAKER's work indicated on p. 360. The "White Basin" signifies the basin of the White Nile.

The first danger signal of new times was the appearance in Darfur of the British traveller BROWNE in 1793.¹

ABD-ER-RAHMAN, the peace-loving sultan of Darfur, was so disquieted by the European traveller's unexpected visit that he first detained him as a captive, and only three years later did he allow him to return to Egypt.

The sultan was still more alarmed by the French invasion of Egypt. In 1797, having learned what was happening there, for fear that the French, after occupying Egypt, might penetrate into the Sudan, and intent on assuring himself the benevolence of the French conquerors anyway, the sultan sent NAPOLEON a letter of congratulation accompanied by 2,000 slaves as a gift.

Upon his death (1799) ABD-ER-RAHMAN was succeeded on the throne of Darfur by his thirteen-year old son, MOHAMMED EL-FADHL (1799-1839). The first few years of his reign passed in a struggle with his guardian, Sheikh KURRA. This struggle degenerated into internecine war and ended in the defeat and execution of KURRA in 1803.

The conquest by Egypt of neighbouring Kordofan, which had until then been under the rule of Darfur, compelled MOHAMMED EL-FADHL to redouble efforts to increase the strength of resistance of his country for the event of Egyptian attempts to conquer Darfur. To this end, he conducted several campaigns to consolidate his rule over the semi-independent Arab and Sudanic tribes inhabiting the southern districts of Darfur and other regions on the south directly bordering upon Darfur (Dar Fertit, Bahr el Ghazal). The sultan had to make especially great efforts in subjugating the Arab *Rizegat* tribes.

Toward the end of his reign MOHAMMED EL-FADHL tried to subjugate Wadai, thus to augment his forces for the impending struggle with the Egyptians. This endeavour, however, failed.

MOHAMMED EL-FADHL died in 1838. His son and successor, MOHAMMED EL-HUSSEIN (1838-73), followed a different policy. MOHAMMED EL-FADHL had made preparations for a war with Egypt; his son's efforts were to establish peaceful, friendly relations with Egypt and then with the Ottoman empire. (He even asked the sultans of Turkey, ABDUL MEJID and ABDUL AZIZ, for confirmation of his reign.) MOHAMMED EL-FADHL had tried to subjugate Wadai; his son, however, concluded with the Wadaian sultan an alliance for the event of both defensive and offensive war.

But all this could only avert the imminent catastrophe for a short while. In the middle of the 19th century, in the region of Bahr el Ghazal southeast of Darfur, there arose complications which were soon to spell disaster for Darfur.

Bahr el Ghazal province was a bone of contention between Egypt and Darfur. Both the khedive of Egypt and the sultan of Darfur regarded the province as their tributary. Each of them required the population of Bahr el Ghazal, including its rich merchants, to pay tribute, absolutely ignoring the demands of the other, and in support of their demands both of them sent out troops to terrorize the population of the province. The troops of Egypt and those of Darfur appeared there at different times, so that both of them had to do only with the unarmed, or at best poorly armed, population of Bahr el Ghazal. The result was that fair amounts of ivory and slaves left the province as tribute in both directions.

¹ WILLIAM GEORGE BROWNE, a scientist from Oxford, fired by the work of JAMES BRUCE on his excursion to Ethiopia, undertook a scientific trip, setting out from Egypt across the Libyan Desert into Darfur. See W. G. BROWNE, *Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria* (London, 1799).

It hurt the big traders in slaves and ivory to see the best part of their profits go to foreigners, and they decided to do away with this state of affairs. ZIBER RAHAMNA, son of a petty trader, put himself at the lead of the discontented. Beginning his career as a petty trader himself, thanks to his successful activities of several years, he gradually became one of the wealthiest and strongest local lords in the Sudan. In exchange for ivory and slaves he obtained firearms, and of his slaves he created a whole army. Feeling he was strong enough, he decided to rid Bahr el Ghazal of the alien exploiters and to make it independent with himself as the only sovereign ruler and exploiter of the whole country. He succeeded in carrying out his plan: his troops in 1869 occupied the entire territory of Bahr el Ghazal, and this province became an independent country with ZIBER as its actual ruler.¹

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CHAPTER VII

ETHIOPIA AND SOMALILAND

Ethiopia in the First Half of the 19th Century

The feudal disintegration of Ethiopia continued into the first half of the 19th century. Internecine wars were raging between the overlords of Shoa, Tigré, Amhara, etc. In Tigré and Shoa armed conflicts also with the Gallas flared up again. What this meant to the peasant masses of the population of Ethiopia was that added to the feudal obligations and the arbitrary rule of the feudal lords were also heavy war sacrifices and economic ruin. The country became extremely weak. The European powers saw fit to exploit the situation. They were planning to conquer Ethiopia.

In preparation of the coming invasion of Ethiopia, which until the 19th century had received European visitors only by way of exception, there came "explorers" and "emissaries" of European States one after another, mainly from Britain (SALT in 1805 and 1809), Germany (RÜPPEL in 1833, KRAFF in 1834—42), France (D'HÉRICOURT, GOBAT, etc.) and Italy (Italian "mission" to Shoa in 1847).

The Negus Theodore and the Unification of Ethiopia

The European powers' plans of conquest, however, came up against an unexpected obstacle. In the middle of the 19th century there emerged from among the feudal lords of Ethiopia an exceptionally far-sighted man who became aware that the feudal disintegration would lead to the destruction of the country, and that the weakening of its economic and military strength would prevent Ethiopia from resisting the impending foreign intrusion. It was the governor of a small province, offspring of an impoverished small feudal clan. He set himself the task to save the country by uniting it in a big centralized State and introducing in the old feudal system a number of reforms enabling the economic and cultural development of the country.

He achieved his first goal after waging stubborn and prolonged struggles with the local feudal lords. First he seized power in Amhara, and then, in 1856, after defeating all the local lords, proclaimed himself the negus of all Ethiopia under the name THEODORE.

Coming to power, he immediately began to enforce his reforms. First of all, he broke the power of feudal lords and their arbitrary rule, curbed the clergy, reduced the taxes levied upon the population, started the construction of roads, etc. But he could not go very far, because the big European powers, aware of the coveted spoils slipping out of their hands, had before long begun their intrigues against him.

Intrigues of the European Powers and the Struggle of Theodore against the Foreign Intruders

The European powers became especially active in the second half of the sixties, when the construction of the Suez Canal was drawing to an end, and consequently, the hinterland of the Red Sea coast obtained particular importance for them. At first they did not come into the open.¹ They bribed the local lords and instigated them to rebellion against the "tyrant" THEODORE. At the same time, making use of one of the negus's reforms which threw open the gates to foreign merchants, engineers, technicians, craftsmen, etc., they sent to THEODORE their agents disguised as consuls, "advisers," missionaries and travellers.

But THEODORE did not give in. He defeated the rebellious lords one after another and, seeing through the plans of the foreign agents, expelled them from the country or detained them as prisoners.

The foreign powers saw to it, however, that the "rebellions" of the princes grudging against the negus and affected by his reforms did not stop. Discontent broke out among the peasants who bore the main burdens both of the war with the foreign aggressors and of the internecine struggle, and the lords hostile towards the negus succeeded in duping a considerable part of the peasantry exhausted with feudal exploitation. Appealing to the discontent of the peasants, the reactionary lords made them believe that the cause of all their troubles was the policy of the negus and his war with the foreigners. Large masses of the peasantry became reluctant to support the negus and his army, and in some places they even rose against him.

After thus losing the support of large masses of his people, THEODORE found himself in isolation. His army began to dwindle, but he continued the fight. And when he became utterly weak, having all in all six thousand soldiers (out of a 50,000 strong army) who remained loyal to him and to the cause of their country's independence, the British launched an armed attack against him. Their army was exactly double the force of the negus, and the latter was "defeated". In the decisive battle at Magdala, 2,300 out of the negus's 6,000 men were killed. Aware of the impossibility of resisting the superior forces of the enemy, THEODORE made an offer of armistice and negotiations. But the British general, NAPIER, refused the offer and demanded unconditional surrender. In reply, THEODORE released all his European prisoners and as a token of his peace-mindedness, according to African custom, sent to the victors 1,000 cows and 500 sheep as a present. NAPIER refused the present and gave orders to attack. Upon this the negus decided to fight it out. He entrenched himself in the fortress of Magdala. The fortress was destroyed in a bombardment within two hours. The soldiers in part were killed, in part surrendered, and the rest of them ran away. The British troops that forced their way into the ruins of the fortress met with the bullets of sixteen loyal Ethiopian warriors with THEODORE at their head. When the British reached them, THEODORE shot himself.

Upon the death of THEODORE, the internecine struggle of the three biggest feudal lords, those of Shoa, Tigré and Amhara (who were backed each by different rivalling European powers), for the throne was renewed. The country, after THEODORE had led it to the road of development, again sank in the horrors of a long civil war of feudal decay and economic anarchy.

¹ The first open action of expansion was taken by France in 1866, when she purchased from local chiefs the Bay of Obok, which in that year was proclaimed French possession but was not actually occupied until 1883.



29. The Negus Theodore (see pp. 271—272)

Until the middle of the 19th century the Europeans had no reliable information on the Somali tribes. The Portuguese who in the 18th century, on their way to Ethiopia, on several occasions traversed the regions inhabited by the Somalis and took part in Ethiopia's wars against the "Moslems" (*i.e.*, the Somalis) let the world know absolutely nothing about them. Although casual English and French travellers of later times, who visited Ethiopia in the 18th century and in the first half of the 19th, did encounter Somalis, they either did not refer to them in their works or mentioned them only cursorily as "Moslems" (without distinction between the various kindred tribes) or as "Beduins." For example, D'HÉRICOURT in his description of his second journey to the "Kingdom of Shoa" (1842) relates his meeting and minor conflict (which was happily adjusted later) with a Somali tribe that he even called by this name without, however, giving any other information about them.¹

Travellers headed for Ethiopia set out from the coast, following a certain road which was more or less under Ethiopian control. Until the middle of the 19th century not a single European had the courage to enter the independent territory of the Somalis. What is more, even the Somali coast, despite its being situated along the sea route long before taken by European vessels on their way to Africa, Arabia and India, remained absolutely unexplored until the middle of the 19th century. This can be explained partly by the unfavourable geographical conditions of this portion of the coast. The geographer RÉCLUS writes about Cape Guardafui that, "in spite of the depths, there are relatively few seas where more shipwrecks have taken place and where the ships have to be more careful in anchoring to avoid accident."² RÉCLUS also relates that in 1798 a British warship was exploring the sea near the mouth of the Juba River, and a boat trying to traverse the sand-bar foundered and all the crew perished.³

The first attempts by Europeans to explore Somaliland took place in the forties of the 19th century, but they were almost without exception confined to the coast and supplied but very scanty information on the Somali tribes. Worthy of mention among them are the explorations by the French geographer D'ABBADIE, the British anthropologists RIGBY and CHRISTOPHER, and the British officer CRUTTENDEN.⁴

Late in the forties almost the entire Somali coast was, for the first time, more or less thoroughly explored, under the official commission of the French government, by GUILLAIN who supplied the first serious scientific data about the Somali tribes of the coast. But owing to the great political events in France, GUILLAIN's work⁵ appeared as late as 1856—59, that is, simultaneously with, or rather somewhat later than, the book of the Englishman BURTON, who was the first to undertake a

¹ ROCHET D'HÉRICOURT, *Second voyage sur les deux rives de la mer Rouge, dans le pays des Adels et le Royaume de Choa* (Paris, 1846), p. 86 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, vol. xii, p. 729.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 731.

⁴ D'ABBADIE, "Renseignements recueillis à Berberah" (*Bull. Soc. géogr.*, 1842); C. P. RIGBY, "Remarks on the North East Coast of Africa and the Various Tribes by Which It Is Inhabited" (*Transactions of the Bombay Geogr. Soc.*, 1843; *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London* [New Series], vol. v); W. CHRISTOPHER, "Extracts of a Journal on the East Coast of Africa" (*Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* [London, 1844]); CRUTTENDEN, "Report on the Mijerthein Tribe of Somalis, etc." (*Transactions of the Bombay Geogr. Soc.*, 1846); — "On Eastern Africa" (*Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* [London, 1848]).

⁵ GUILLAIN, *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1856—59).

special journey of exploration into the country of the Somalis and to inform Europe and the whole civilized world of a number of Somali tribes inhabiting the interior of the country.¹ In October 1854 he went from Aden to Zeila, spent there about a month, then left for Harrar, went back to Berbera, and in February 1855 returned to Aden. In April of the same year, together with SPEKE and STROYAN, he again set out for Berbera, intending to make another journey into the interior of the country, but they reached the city at the time of an intertribal strife. STROYAN was killed, SPEKE wounded, BURTON in his turn was compelled to go back to Aden and renounce his second journey. In the course of the four months he spent in the country of the Somalis, BURTON (who pretended to be a Moslem) was able to become familiar with a number of Somali tribes, both nomadic and settled (Eisa, Gadibursi, Mijertin, etc.), whom he described in his travel diary.

Late in the fifties the German explorer HEUGLIN undertook a journey along the Somali coast.² Following the travels of GUILLAIN and BURTON, there appeared two French geographical works on Somaliland, that of DES AVRANCHERS on the interior regions, and that of FLEURIOT DE LANGLE on the coastal region.³

Meanwhile, around the year 1860, after the death of the sultan of Zanzibar, SEYYID SAID, his successor, SEYYID MEJID, extended his power to the southern part of the Somali coast. He appointed governors to the cities of Brava, Merca, Mogadishu, etc., where he even garrisoned about 100 to 200 soldiers each. These collected various taxes from the inhabitants of the cities — including the Somalis who came to the market from the environs — and treated them cruelly, often took from the caravans coming from the countryside all their goods without paying for it, going in physical violence against the Africans even so far as to mutilating them.⁴ But the power of the sultan did not extend beyond the coastal cities whose inhabitants, in view of the constant threat of bombardment from the ships of the Zanzibar fleet, could not offer any resistance. The governors of the sultan, however, for fear of the bitterly hostile attitude of the Somali tribes, did not venture to extend Zanzibar authority farther inland. (Upon such attempts later on, in the early eighties, in the reign of SEYYID BAGRASH, the emissary of the sultan, together with his military escort, was slain at Danan.⁵)

In the wake of Zanzibar authorities German explorers appeared on the southeast coast of Somaliland and penetrated into the interior of the country. In 1866–67 the German traveller BRENNER thoroughly explored the southern Somali regions. Another major German expedition (conducted by the great explorer of other parts of East Africa, Baron VON DER DECKEN), which at the end of July 1865 started up the Juba River, was unsuccessful. DECKEN and some of his party were killed by the Somalis at Berbera on October 3. The records DECKEN had made of the Somalis during his journey of almost three months were afterwards published by KERSTEN.⁶

In 1870 France occupied a newly established coastal city of the Somalis, Kismayu (Chisimaio), but evacuated it after her defeat in the war in Europe.

¹ R. BURTON, *First Footsteps in East Africa* (London, 1856).

² HEUGLIN, "Reise längs der Somali-Küste" (*Peterm. Mitt.*, 1860).

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⁴ See "R. Brenners Forschungen in Ost-Afrika" (*Peterm. Mitt.*, 1868, p. 458).

⁵ See H. ROSKOSCHNY, *Ost-Afrika und das Seengebiet* (Leipzig, 1886), p. 83.

⁶ Baron Carl Claus von der Decken's *Reisen in Ost-Afrika in den Jahren 1859 bis 1865*. Compiled by OTTO KERSTEN, 3 vols. (Leipzig—Heidelberg, 1869—79).

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CHAPTER VIII

MADAGASCAR

THE MALAGASY PEOPLES IN THE 19TH CENTURY* (UP TO 1870)

At the close of the 18th century, as is known, the peoples of Madagascar still lived in separation from one another. The only change that took place under the influence of the early attempts at invasion was a certain rapprochement of several kindred tribes on the eastern half of the island. But the new era of world history that arrived towards the end of the 18th century wrought great changes in the internal development and mutual relations of the Malagasy peoples.

From the end of the 18th century onwards, Madagascar became the target of France's intensifying and unceasing colonizing attempts undertaken in an organized manner, no longer by individual adventurers or piratic companies, but by the government of France. Consequently, the island was a target of bitter rivalry between France and Great Britain. This did not fail to influence the development of the mutual relations between the Malagasy peoples themselves in two, to a certain extent opposite, directions.

1. The intensification of European pressure gave an impetus to the trend, apparent already in the former period, of the cognate tribes towards unification, the establishment of larger and stronger social (tribal) organizations for a successful fight to safeguard their independence and to defend their lands. The western tribes, as we know, had united already during the previous period. Early in the 19th century the eastern tribes of the island realized this aspiration by founding the Hova "State." This State was no class society yet. It was only a tribal federation under the rule of a paramount chief who was called the king.

2. Under the influence of the same European pressure the internecine struggle between eastern and western tribes of the island, mainly between the Sakalava and the Hovas, became more violent. The French aggressors, striving to accomplish their plans of conquest, several times pitted the Sakalava, Betsimisaraka and other tribes against the Hova State, because they wanted thus to break this principal stronghold of the Malagasy peoples, and by weakening the different tribes to prepare the ground for the final conquest of the whole island.

Anglo-French Rivalry for the Island in the Years of the Revolution

During the years of the Revolution France renewed her attempts to establish a foothold on Madagascar. The first two expeditions (LESCALLIER in 1792 and BORY DE SAINT-VINCENT in 1801) were frustrated by the resistance of the islanders, but the military expedition conducted by DECAEN in 1804 succeeded in building a few fortified stations on the island.

This success, however, was very short-lived, since by this time Britain, the strongest rival of France, had laid claim to the African islands of the Indian Ocean.

The first Anglo-French armed conflict in Madagascar took place in 1807, when the British tried to prevent the French expanding their possessions. This time the French were able to drive back the British. But after Britain had annexed the islands around Madagascar, Réunion, Mauritius and the Seychelles (1810), the British made a new assault and in 1811 occupied all the French possessions in Madagascar.

By the Paris peace of 1814, France regained her rights to her former possessions (the island of St. Marie, Fort Dauphin, Saint-Louis and the city of Tamatave founded in 1804), and reoccupied them effectively in 1817–18.

Britain in this period took a new course of policy: instead of direct conquests, her aim was to centralize all power over Madagascar in the hands of the Hova State under British control.

Unification of the Hovas

The Hova State was founded by King IMPOINA (1787–1808) by uniting a few kindred tribes that had formerly lived dispersed in the interior of the island in subjection to other alien tribes, such as the stronger *Sakalava* and others. After waging several wars with the hostile tribes, IMPOINA — not without British help — restored his own people's independence and transformed the old territory of the Hova tribes into a big, homogeneous State in the centre of the island.

Radama I and His Struggle with France

After IMPOINA's death, his son, RADAMA (1808–28), continued the clever policy of making the best of the Anglo-French antagonism. Not only did he willingly receive the military and diplomatic agents of the British governor of Mauritius Island, FARQUHAR, and the missionaries the governor sent to him, but in two treaties, concluded with them in January and October 1817, he stipulated, as a quasi-compensation for his renouncing the slave trade, effective military assistance against the French and the tribes allied with them in the form of a certain quantity of firearms, ammunition — and British officers.

In the same year 1817 he seized power over the port of Tamatave that had so far been under the authority of a French agent, the mulatto JEAN RENÉ, thus obtaining an outlet to the sea. In 1822 he defeated the *Sakalava* whom the French had set on him, and took possession of the region of Foule Point, then in 1823 drove the French authorities out of their bases in the north and central parts of the eastern littoral.

In reply to French protestations, he declared that he did not contest the rights of France to the island of St. Marie, but he would not tolerate any foreign authority in the territory of Madagascar proper. In March 1825, to back up his statement, he occupied the main fortress of the French in the south of the island, Fort Dauphin, hoisted the national flag of the Hovas and pushed the whole French garrison over to the island of St. Marie.

A few months later (July 1825) the French governor, FREYCINET, made several desperate attempts to break the power of RADAMA, instigated a number of tribes to rise against him simultaneously: the Betsimisaraka in the region of Foule Point and about 10,000 islanders of the region of Antanosa in the rear of Fort Dauphin.

But this time RADAMA was able not only to repel the attack, but also to subjugate the attacking and defeated tribes.

He died in 1828, at the age of 37, bequeathing to the peoples of Madagascar an independent country — under strong British influence.

Union of the Anglo-French Aggressors and the Defensive Wars of the Hova State (1828–45)

RADAMA was succeeded on the throne by the first of his eleven wives, RANAVALONA I (1828–61). Characteristic of her policy was that, aware of the peril of the British influence, she right from the outset took an equally hostile attitude towards the French and the British pretenders to power over Madagascar. To begin with, she tore up all the treaties concluded with the British and expelled the British missionaries.

In October 1829 the French, considering the propitious time had come, mounted a military expedition for the conquest of Tamatave, Foule Point and other bases on the eastern littoral, but despite their technical superiority (the expedition consisted of small troops, mainly Senegalese, but it was equipped with six ships and 140 guns), they failed completely.

After repelling this assault, the queen energetically started to wipe out the missionary influence in the country: in 1835, at an emergency national assembly with the participation of 150,000 people, she decreed the prohibition, on pain of death, of the Christian religion in the entire territory of the island.

In 1836 she sent a delegation to Britain and France with letters to the kings of Great Britain and of France, recommending them to be content with peaceful commercial contacts and not to interfere in the affairs of Madagascar. Nevertheless, on the pretext of the Hovas' bad treatment of the European residents, already in 1837 there appeared at Tamatave two French and two British ships and staged a hostile demonstration. In reply to this provocation the Hovas set fire to the houses of the European residents. The expedition was compelled to set to extinguish the fire and to content themselves with the reassurance of the local Hova authorities that peaceful European residents might continue to live on the island.

In 1839, when the agents of the British governor of Mauritius Island demanded manpower for his plantations, the queen replied by forbidding on pain of death to have manpower indentured for alien possessions.

The French, having convinced themselves of the futility of their plans to conquer the Hova country, turned their eyes to the west, and instigating the *Sakalava* people against the Hovas and forcing upon them the protectorate of France, in 1840 occupied the islands of Nossi-Bé, Nossi-Mitsiu, Nossi-Comba and Mayotte, as well as the west coast between Ampasindava Bay and Cape Saint Vincent.

In reply to these conquests, the Hovas resorted to reprisals against the French merchants. Upon this, in 1845, a joint Anglo-French naval expedition again appeared at Tamatave in demonstration of protest. But this protest remained unanswered by the Hovas. Both the governor and the queen refused even to receive the French and British military envoys. Then, after preliminary bombardment, the expedition launched an attack upon Tamatave but was defeated. The troops had to run away, suffering great casualties. The queen ordered the heads of the dead British and French soldiers to be displayed on tall poles along the entire coast as a terrible warning to the Anglo-French aggressors in case of renewed attempts at assault.

But there followed no further attacks. Instead the French resorted to a new tactics. Two French agents, LABORDE and LAMBERT, gradually ingratiated themselves with the queen, set up a few houses of business, and undertook the education of the queen's son, Prince RAKOTO. The latter fell so much under their influence that he began, at their bidding, to write, without the queen's knowledge, messages to French authorities (to Admiral CECIL in 1847, to the governor of Réunion in 1852), and later (in 1855) even to NAPOLEON III, complaining of the cruel regime of the queen and applying for French protection. Moreover, LAMBERT in 1855 succeeded in obtaining permission from the queen for the entry of a French missionary, and in the next year several others were admitted, in the capacity of physicians. But in the same year a British missionary, ELLIS, who had been expelled in 1836, was permitted to return. He was commissioned by the British government to report to the queen on the negotiations conducted by LAMBERT with the emperor of France and the British government in a spirit hostile towards the queen. This denouncement was made with a view to compelling the queen to replace her French counsellors with British advisers.

The Anglo-French intrigues began, and the queen grew suspicious of both parties. In the summer of 1857 LAMBERT, who had just come back from Europe, plotted a conspiracy (with the knowledge and participation of LABORDE and Prince RAKOTO himself) in order to overthrow the queen and enthrone Prince RAKOTO, with LAMBERT himself as Prime Minister and, of course, under a French protectorate. When the queen found it out (in all probability from the same ELLIS), she expelled both Frenchmen from the country and confiscated all their property.

Sharpening of Anglo-French Rivalry. Radama II and the Coup d'Etat of 1863

When, consequently, their plans to conquer the Hova country failed, the French again turned towards the west. In 1859-60 they persuaded several small tribal chiefs of the western regions, beyond the authority of the Hovas, into concluding an agreement in the French protectorate. Thus they gradually occupied the entire west coast strip between Baly Bay and St. Augustine's Bay.

RANAVALONA died in 1861, and was succeeded on the throne by Prince RAKOTO who took the title of RADAMA II (1861-63). He threw open the doors to all sorts of foreign agents and missionaries, and proclaimed the freedom of trade for all foreigners. But, since he was completely under the influence of LAMBERT and LABORDE who had returned, he was clinging to French orientation and concluded with France a trade agreement especially favourable to the French, and even a treaty on a huge concession personally to LAMBERT.

The peace-loving Hova people regarded this policy as treachery and did not acquiesce in it. On May 9, 1863, a popular uprising broke out to demand the denouncement of all treaties concluded with foreigners. When the king refused to yield to the will of the masses, the insurgents rushed into the royal palace and killed the king together with his following. The throne was occupied by the wife of the dead king, RASOHERINA. The enslaving agreement with France and the treaty on concessions to LAMBERT were annulled.

Rasoherina (1863-68). Beginning of the Government of Rainilaiarivoni

The French assert that the coup d'état of 1863 was a plot staged by the British. There is no doubt that British agents (like ELLIS), in their own interest, exploited the popular indignation and helped the conspirators. But it is also beyond doubt that the reactionary attempts, following the coup d'état, to overturn the government and to renew the enslaving agreements with France were organized by the French.

RASOHERINA was no politician. Instead of her, the government was led by her Prime Minister, who was under the strong influence of British agents. As a consequence of his decidedly anti-French and Anglophile policy, negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the relations with France, which had been poisoned because of the annulment of the treaties, did not bring any results. Diplomatic relations with France had been broken off and war threatened.

At the time (1864) the Prime Minister was replaced by his younger brother, RAINILAIARIVONI, the greatest public figure in the history of Madagascar, who, from that time on, conducted the State affairs until the end of the country's independent existence (1895). He was a man of exceptional abilities who was flexible and tactful enough to exploit the Anglo-French antagonism for the benefit of his country. In 1865 he made an agreement with Britain and succeeded in liquidating the conflict with France by paying her (with British help) 900,000 francs in compensation for the losses that arose from the denouncement of the treaties. Then he continued the negotiations for establishing lasting peaceful relations with France on the basis of full equality of rights and the complete sovereignty of Madagascar. He achieved his aim, indeed, by concluding in 1868 with France a new agreement, by which France "once and for all" recognized the independence of Madagascar, renouncing her conquests and contenting herself with the position of the most favoured nation. The treaty proclaimed the freedom of trade for foreigners and the freedom of religion for all. This treaty was signed already by Queen RANAVALONA II, who acceded to the throne in 1868, upon the death of RASOHERINA.

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PART FOUR

BLACK AFRICA IN THE PERIOD OF THE TRANSITION OF CAPITALISM INTO IMPERIALISM

(Conquest and Partition of Africa, 1870—1900)

INTRODUCTION

THE STRUGGLE OF EUROPEAN POWERS FOR THE PARTITION OF AFRICA

Already prior to the eighteen-seventies the European great powers endeavoured to expand their colonial bases on the coast of Africa, to seize territories adjoining these coastal possessions. From the seventies and particularly from the eighties onwards, European capital, owing to the shift to imperialism, set to conquering the whole vast continent. But the conquest of Africa was drawn out for several decades. Colonial expansion gave rise to fierce struggles between rivalling powers and was complicated by the stubborn resistance of African peoples.

With the transition to the stage of imperialism the biggest imperialist powers began to play an exclusive part in world politics. World politics on the whole virtually reflected the economic struggle waged on the world market between different monopolistic companies of the most highly developed capitalist countries. As a result, after a century of relative lull, from the seventies and particularly from the early eighties onwards, the struggle of the capitalist pirates in Africa was resumed in unprecedentedly sharp forms.

This African scramble, however, was essentially different from the struggle of "each against everyone" which had been going on in the epoch of the slave trade. It was essentially different in regard to its participants, motives and aims, as well as in regard to its forms and proportions. While formerly the struggle was among individual enterprising capitalists or their companies (acting on their own or with the support of their respective governments), the conflicts in this period broke out among monopolistic organizations of finance capital represented in this scramble by governments of the imperialist powers.

As State authority in the more developed bourgeois countries became the dominion of finance capital, the governments of the capitalist powers that had intruded into Africa did not abide any longer by the role of open or secret protectors of the different colonial adventurers, merchants, companies, etc. They now became most active organizers of a systematic struggle for the seizure and possession of as much territory as possible, for the creation of large colonial entities that might make up whole *colonial empires*. This struggle took place on two fronts — against the indigenous peoples of Africa and against imperialist rivals. Its participants resorted to all the tested old methods and even devised new ones. The fight went on for more than various bases or smaller regions; it was fought for the possession of as many large African countries as possible. The goal of this struggle was to secure control over the rest of African countries which were, or might in the future become, sources of raw materials and places of profitable capital investment. And since this aspiration was inherent in the finance capital of every imperialist power, the scramble for Africa

changed into a struggle for the parcelling out of Africa among the strongest and most powerful of them, namely Britain, France and Germany. As to the smaller States which also had colonies in Africa (Portugal, Spain, Belgium), they — to use Lenin's phrase — were able to retain their colonies only because of the conflicting interests, frictions, etc., among the big powers, which prevented them from coming to an agreement in regard to the division of the spoils.¹

Different Sectors of the Struggle for the Partition of Africa

The main tangles of imperialist antagonisms were as follows:

1. The struggle of Britain, France and Germany for West Africa;
2. the struggle for West and Central Equatorial Africa (Congo) among all the powers interested in African colonies;
3. the struggle in South Africa which, just as in the preceding period, took place mainly between imperialist Great Britain and the Boer republics, and besides, the struggle for the spoils fought in Southwest Africa between Britain and Germany, and in Southeast Africa between Britain and Portugal;
4. the rivalry in East Africa between Britain and Germany (and also France to some extent);
5. the Anglo-French struggle in the Eastern Sudan;
6. the Anglo-Franco-Italian struggle in the northeast of Africa (for Ethiopia and Somaliland);
7. the Anglo-French struggle for Madagascar.

Characteristics and Forms of the Struggle

The character of the powerstruggle in Africa, its methods and means were completely different from those employed by adventurers and slave merchants of the 16th to 18th centuries. Formerly the conflicts had taken place occasionally, the struggle manifesting itself mainly in scattered skirmishes on account of the spoils or some support point which might serve as a base of operations for further plundering. Some plunderers — whether private adventurers or official agents of governments — had assaulted others to grab the booty from them. "Quarrels" had been settled exclusively by force — by the force available to the competitors there and then.

In the eighties and the succeeding years the struggle between the big sharks of finance capital took on other forms. It was fought, above all, by way of diplomatic intrigues in Europe, by way of negotiations and secret agreements between some imperialist governments to the detriment of others. These agreements were every now and then violated, repudiated and renewed. From one day to another allies became adversaries, and vice versa. The armed force of the rivals was even more important than before, but it was no longer used in minor clashes to capture some vessel or fort; it now became the final argument in the struggle of the imperialists for the partition of whole regions of Africa — an argument kept on stock in diplomatic

¹ V. I. LENIN, *Collected Works* (New York, 1942), vol. xix, p. 153.

talks but ready to be set in motion at any moment, in case of need, to carry out the set imperialist plan by force.

The ceaseless diplomatic wrangle that went on for about two decades between Britain, France and Germany was in fact a preparation for settling the question of the partition of Africa by way of a great imperialist war. It occurred even that armed forces of the biggest powers already stood facing each other, ready to begin fighting. In 1884, for example, British and German warships almost started a battle on account of the Cameroons along the coast of West Africa.¹ In 1898, the French and British imperialists in fact began military operations against each other in the Eastern Sudan (the Fashoda incident).²

The war did not, however, break out and the partition of Africa was effected without armed conflicts between the big imperialist powers (except for insignificant minor incidents).³

There being large "unoccupied" territories, and owing to the weakness of the small imperialist countries (Belgium, Portugal) whose possessions the big powers might have cut down or subjugated economically, the biggest sharks were able to come to such terms as, at the given moment, gave more or less satisfaction to all interested parties.

Monopolistic Companies

The leading role was now played not by individual merchants and trading companies, but by big capitalist trusts of monopolistic character which had set themselves the task of subjecting whole areas and countries to capitalist exploitation. At the same time they were engaged in import trade and purchasing (or plundering) African products, establishing plantations, organizing the gathering of products (by exacting labour from the African population), speculating in land, organizing the exploitation of mineral resources (again with the help of the local population which they held in semislavery), etc.

Here is a brief summary of how the first major monopolistic organizations of European capitalists were formed, whose aim was the imperialist seizure of African colonies:

In 1879 the Belgian branch of the "International Association for the Exploration and Civilization of Central Africa" was reorganized into the *Comité d'Études du Haut Congo*.

In 1878 the "German African Society" of Berlin was founded as a branch of the "International African Association," and in 1882 the "German Colonial Society" was established in Frankfurt on the Main. In 1883 the "German Southwest African Company" was formed, and the "German East African Company" was set up in 1885.

In France the "Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Equatoriale" was organized in 1880, followed in 1881 by the "Compagnie du Sénégal et de la Côte Occidentale d'Afrique."

In Britain, the "United African Company", formed in 1849 for trading in the coast lands known as the Oil Rivers, was in 1881 reorganized as the "National African

¹ See the British *Blue Book* (C. 4279, Nos. 24, 25, 26, 31) and the German *Weißbuch* (No. 11).

² See p. 299 ff.

³ The only somewhat serious armed conflict of European powers in Africa in this entire period was the Anglo-Portuguese incident at Massikessi in 1890. See p. 385.

Company" (and later renamed the "Royal Niger Company"). The "Imperial British East Africa Company" was chartered in 1886, and the "British South Africa Company" in 1889.

The Portuguese founded the "Mozambique Company" in 1891.

Travellers and Missionaries

Already in the seventies of the 19th century there was a sharp increase in the number of the journeys of exploration and straight reconnaissance. The activity of missionary societies also intensified. The large majority of travellers and missionaries acted as direct and overt emissaries of capitalist companies or even imperialist governments, fulfilling specified commissions and tasks they had received from their masters. For instance, the same NACHTIGAL and ROHLFS who prior to 1870 had been engaged in explorations in Africa as private travellers, from the early 1870's (NACHTIGAL already from 1869 and ROHLFS from 1873 onwards) began acting as official government agents. One of the main tasks of NACHTIGAL on his visit to Bornu in 1870 was to hand over to the sultan of Bornu the gifts of the king of Prussia. A similar commission was entrusted to ROHLFS in 1876: he was to take presents from the German emperor to the sultan of Wadai (this task, however, remained unfulfilled because of the failure of the expedition).

Another characteristic example was given by the famous traveller STANLEY. Being in fact a hired agent of Belgian and British capitalists, he concluded on behalf of them hundreds of "agreements" with African tribal chiefs, robbing and ruining their tribes by cheating and bribing them. To influence the recalcitrant tribes, he did not stop short of the most ruthless methods either, not even of physical annihilation.

"Agreements" with Tribal Chiefs

So-called "treaties of peace" with the subjugated tribes, with their duped and corrupted "kings" and chiefs, were concluded by tens and hundreds. But finance capital and the imperialist governments did not only bribe with beads and buttons, with tobacco and liquor; where the need arose, they did not spare a few hundred or thousand pounds sterling either.

As a striking instance we may point out the case of MBANDINI, "king" of the Swazi tribes, who in the course of five years (1884—89) managed to sell and resell all his country several times to different concessionaires, so that later it became necessary to set up a special court of justice to settle the conflicts between the concessionaires who as purchasers were claiming ownership of the very same territories.

Here is what we can read about this matter in one of the official reports of the colonial administration:¹ "Practically the whole area of the country was covered two, three or even four deep by concessions of all sizes, for different purposes, and for greatly varying periods. In but very few cases were even the boundaries defined, many of the areas had been subdivided and sold several times, and seldom were the boundaries of the superimposed areas even coterminous."

¹ Swaziland Report for 1907—1908. Col. No. 596. Cd. 4448—5, p. 13. Quoted from R. BUELL, *The Native Problem in Africa*, vol. i, pp. 197—198.

According to the same official document, the "king" received from concession rents an income of £12,000 annually, and all in all he cashed in (for his personal needs) no less than £70,000.¹

As another example we may quote the story of King LEWANIKA of the Barotse tribe (in Northern Rhodesia), who by the agreements of 1890 and 1898 signed away his entire country to the British South Africa Company. In return he received from the British government a yearly rent of £1,200, and his successors received £1,700 a year.

Resistance and Struggle of the African Peoples

In the great majority of African countries the European intruders met with the armed resistance of the indigenous populations.

This resistance on the part of more backward tribes took shape in spontaneous local insurrections; more developed tribes launched organized wars of liberation. Chiefs and tribal alliances took the lead in this struggle. Only by way of exception did the imperialists succeed in occupying some country without meeting with armed opposition from the African masses, either by duping and bribing the chiefs or by setting some tribes against others.

The struggle of the imperialists against one another went on simultaneously with their struggle against African peoples. In certain regions they first seized territories, or "acquired" them through fraud or bribery, and then fought against other pretenders in order to retain what they had conquered and to delimit the boundaries. In other regions, however, the imperialists first came to an agreement upon the "share-out" and then every one of the contracting parties began the actual occupation of its "own" territory.

The wars against the African peoples in part were waged under tested old slogans like the "fight against the slave trade," etc., and in part took on the form of systematic campaigns of conquest. To carry out their plans of conquest the imperialist governments ever more often resorted to provocation. They did so either by setting one tribe against another, or by insulting the Africans in order to prompt them to revolt and attack the Europeans, thus creating a convenient pretext of intervention for their "pacification".

Consequences of Imperialist Occupation

The consequences of the campaigns of conquest and "treaties of peace" of this period were essentially different from those of the wars and agreements of former periods.

In the slave trade period, defeat in the wars against the European usurpers brought the African peoples extermination, loss of their coastal territories, slavery, etc. But those wars did not yet create permanent, regular contact between the victorious usurpers and the vanquished tribes (with the exception of some altogether insignificant cases). The Europeans did not, as a rule, interfere in the domestic life of these tribes.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

In the period of intensifying colonial activity of commercial and industrial capital (1800—1870) the situation changed considerably. Every military victory of the colonizers and every agreement they concluded meant the inception of one or another form of permanent interference. The terms of peace the conquerors dictated in this period usually involved such obligations for the vanquished tribes as brought about definite changes in their internal economic and social life (for example, the prohibition of the slave trade) or permanent contacts between conquerors and vanquished (for example, compulsory delivery of produce, forced labour, etc.). In respect of territorial seizures these "treaties of peace" often comprised provisions stipulating cession of certain regions or districts to the conquerors. But the wars of this period led neither to a general settlement of the *relations between conquerors and conquered*, nor to the establishment of over-all European control over the entire economic, political and social life of African tribes and peoples. These wars brought about subjugation of the vanquished tribes in many respects but did not yet make the conquerors sovereign masters of entire peoples and countries.

The complete conquest and enslavement of African peoples and countries by the foreign capitalist intruders took place only in the *age of imperialism*, as a result of the campaigns the imperialists systematically conducted according to effectively devised plans. The "treaties of peace" the imperialists dictated to the vanquished tribes, or the agreements they concluded with tribal chiefs, not only imposed special obligations on the vanquished, but subjected whole tribes and peoples to the economic and political power of foreign capital.

The campaigns of conquest ended in the complete imperialist enslavement of African countries. This enslavement was accomplished by the institution of an *imperialist colonial regime*, of certain forms and methods of imperialist oppression and exploitation, varying according to the local conditions of the different colonies. A unified imperialist predatory system of oppression and exploitation was installed in African countries, though it appeared in different forms and followed different courses. These differences in the methods of oppression and exploitation acted in different ways upon the further development of African countries and peoples.¹

Two General Questions of the History of This Period

In the following we give a brief survey of the most important events in the regions enumerated above (p. 286), illustrating the connexion of the internecine struggle of different powers with their acts of aggression, on the one hand, and with the defensive struggle of African peoples, on the other. But the actions of European powers in the various regions of Africa (and even the factual history of the conquest and partition of such regions) cannot be fully understood without forming a clear idea of the general schemes of colonization which these powers devised regarding all Tropical and South Africa in order to build in it their "colonial empires." The power struggle for the partition of Africa was the background against which the power struggle for every region and country was going on. Therefore, before relating the history of the various regions in the given period, we give a *general account of the events of the European powers' struggle for the partition of Africa*.

In contrast to the power struggle for the partition of the continent, the fight of the African peoples themselves against the foreign conquerors unfolded in every

¹ See vol. ii, ch. i.

region and country in accordance with the local conditions. The history of the struggle of the people of every African country or region is closely related to the history of the conquest and partition of the given country (region), but it is less related — especially in its initial stage — to the events and struggles that took place in other countries and regions of Africa. This is what makes the character, forms and methods of this struggle appear so extremely variegated. It is just this diversity of the forms and methods of the struggle in the various countries and among the different peoples that lends special importance to a *general treatise of the character and forms of the African peoples' liberation struggles* in this period.

On the other hand, the loose interconnexions between actions and struggles of the different African countries and peoples impel us to pay special attention to those few moments of actual contact which nevertheless existed between them. Of great interest is also the fact that, despite loose actual contact, the basically common historic conditions and situations led to one and the same development, and produced many similar features, in regions differing geographically, etc., while, on the other hand, it brought about characteristic and specific differences in the development of the forms and methods of the struggle.

Finally, it is in view of the extremely loose interrelation between the struggles of the peoples of different countries and regions in the initial stage of the given period that it is very interesting and necessary to examine how the intensification of foreign intrusion by the end of the 19th century gave rise in the African peoples to a tendency towards unity in their struggle against the conquerors, including even actual unification of tribes and peoples belonging to formerly conflicting "races" (Sudanese and Arabs, Arabs and Bantus), and brought about mutual influences between movements of different peoples.

All these considerations prompt us, before proceeding with the history of the different regions, to give — beside a general survey of the power struggle for the partition of Africa — a brief account of the character of the struggles the peoples of Black Africa waged for their freedom in the period under review.

PRINCIPAL STAGES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PARTITION OF AFRICA

Intensification of European Expansion (1871—1884)

The colonial activity of the European powers became particularly intense after 1870. The beginning of this period is marked by increasing colonial expansion.

Britain

The first to move was Great Britain. The main impulse to the intensification of the British policy of conquest in Africa was given by two events: the discovery of diamonds in South Africa (1867—1870) and the opening of the Suez Canal (1869).

The discovery of diamond reefs opened new possibilities and vistas to British capital in South Africa. Britain wanted to seize all of this part of the African continent. First she took possession of the diamond fields by means of fraud. Later, during the seventies and the early eighties, she provoked several wars with the most important South-African peoples (Xhosa, Zulu and Basuto) and, defeating them in an unequal struggle, annexed their territories. Simultaneously she tried to subjugate and occupy

the two independent Boer republics. This, however, proved to be a far more complicated task. In 1877 Britain annexed the Transvaal but could not hold it long. The Boers rose to start a war of liberation (1880—81) in which Britain was defeated and compelled to recognize the independence of the Boer republics. Subsequently, she made several attempts to gain control over these States, but these attempts again ended in failure (1883—84).

The opening of the Suez Canal lent *new*, enormous importance to the Mediterranean coast and the adjacent countries (Ethiopia, Eastern Sudan). To ensure control over the new sea route to India via the Suez Canal and the Red Sea, Britain decided to take hold of the entire northeast corner of the continent. During the seventies, therefore, she persistently endeavoured to lay hands on Ethiopia and the Eastern Sudan.

In Ethiopia she acted in two ways: on the one hand, she tried to subject the Emperor JOHN to her influence and, on the other, she provoked the outbreak of two Egypto-Ethiopian wars. Her plan failed, however, owing to the negus' watchfulness (for Britain's every step) and his resolute actions (with regard to Egypt).

In the seventies Great Britain virtually succeeded in gaining control over the Eastern Sudan. Making use of her predominant influence in Egypt, where at that time the Sudan belonged, Britain compelled the Egyptian government to appoint British officers and other British agents to key posts in the Sudan (as governors, vicegovernors, etc.). But in 1881 the Arab and Sudanic peoples of the Eastern Sudan, led by MOHAMMED AHMED (the "Mahdi"), rose in a united revolt to expel the British and Egyptians from the Eastern Sudan. All attempts of the Anglo-Egyptian authorities to suppress the uprising were repelled by the Mahdists who gradually purged all the Eastern Sudan from the British and Egyptian oppressors.

In addition to these two lines of expansion in Africa, Britain in the seventies became more active in other directions as well. On the west coast she made several attempts to occupy the country of the Ashanti, but again without success.

Towards the end of the seventies Britain proceeded to occupy Nigeria, too. At the same time, preparing for the occupation of East Africa, she continued plotting intrigues at Zanzibar, as well as in Equatorial Africa (CAMERON's journey into the interior of Equatorial Africa in 1873—75).

Finally, to establish her full hegemony in the Indian Ocean, Britain intensified her struggle with France for the possession of Madagascar and other islands of the Indian Ocean situated near the African mainland.

France

Owing to her defeat in the war with Germany, France weakened. In the early seventies her activity in Africa proved to be paralyzed to a considerable extent. But later, towards the end of the seventies, she decided to compensate herself for her losses in Europe by colonial conquests along the following four lines:

1. She strove for maximum expansion of her possessions in West and Equatorial Africa. In the course of a few years, by way of "peace treaties" with local chiefs, or by exercising compulsion, she seized large territories in the hinterland of her Senegal colony, in the Western Sudan, on the upper Guinea coast (the present-day republics of Guinea, the Ivory Coast and Dahomey).

2. Following the British expedition of CAMERON's, she stepped up her activity in Equatorial Africa (the BRAZZA expedition).

3. In order to establish a stronghold in the Indian Ocean, she renewed her attempts to deprive Madagascar of its independence, which led to the sharpening of the Anglo-French rivalry and to a war between France and Madagascar in 1883—85.

4. Using as a base of operations the Red Sea port of Obok, which she had acquired in the sixties, France endeavoured to establish herself also in East Africa. To this end she sent a large number of travellers and missionaries to Ethiopia, and in the early eighties, encouraged by the failure of Britain in Ethiopia, she made several attempts to seize some regions of Northern Ethiopia.

Italy

Italy also interfered in the struggle of Britain and France for East Africa, particularly for Ethiopia. Right after the opening of the Suez Canal, the Italian Rubattino Steamship Company acquired some possessions on the shore of the Red Sea (near the bay of Assab in today's Eritrea). In 1875 Italy was preparing for the seizure of the island of Socotra, but was preceded by Britain. In 1879 the Italian government acquired several places on the Red Sea coast and considerably expanded them in the following years (1880—83).

Belgium

Late in the seventies the power rivalry was joined by little Belgium, or rather by the King of the Belgians, one of the biggest adventurers and speculators of world history, LEOPOLD II. With the help of his agent, STANLEY, the king of Belgium in the course of a few years seized vast territories in the very heart of the African continent, in the Congo Basin.

LEOPOLD's conquests in Equatorial Africa gave added impetus to French activity in this part of the continent. France seized the whole region between the Cameroons and the Congo River (Gabon and the "Middle Congo").

Germany

In 1883, finally, Germany also entered the field of the scramble for Africa. Since she had become a unified empire, Germany was jealously watching the actions of other European powers in Africa, but she did not at once switch over to the policy of direct conquests. One of the main reasons why Germany remained temporarily passive was the fact that, thinking she was not strong enough, she was anxious to avoid conflicting with Britain and France. But by the early eighties Germany had already become a strong imperialist power, and the ever sharpening conflicts between Britain and France in the colonial arena opened new vistas for Germany to take advantage of the rivalry of these two powers for her own purposes and to carve out for herself some African territory. By this time territorial seizures in Africa went on apace. Germany saw clearly that, if she wished to take part in the partition of Africa, she had to take action without delay. And BISMARCK, head of the then German government, decided to move. In spring 1884 Germany occupied the coast of Southwest Africa, in the summer of the same year the Cameroons and Togo, and at the end of 1884 and early in 1885 vast territories in East Africa, between the coast and the region of the Great Lakes.

By the end of 1884 the greater part of Africa was, broadly speaking, parcelled out among the European powers. Various portions of the West African coast had been occupied by Britain, France and Germany. South Africa as well as a considerable part of East Equatorial Africa were in the possession of Britain and Germany. The very heart of the continent, the Congo basin, had been seized by the king of Belgium, and the coastal regions of West Equatorial Africa by France (Gabon, Middle Congo) and Germany (Cameroons).

In a number of regions, however, the first stage of the struggle ended in a tie. Britain could not lay hands on the Boer republics in South Africa. In East Africa, Uganda was still unoccupied, but was claimed by Britain, France and Germany alike. Around Lake Chad in Equatorial Africa there remained whole independent countries which excited the appetite of all three great powers. As a consequence of the Mahdi revolt, the British had to evacuate the Eastern Sudan, and at the same time both France and King LEOPOLD tried to invade the country from the west and the south respectively. In Ethiopia the British intrigues yielded no results; here, too, Britain came up against rivals — France and Italy.

For the time being, Britain was able to prevent France from occupying Madagascar only by rendering help to the Hova Kingdom at war with France. But this war was still going on, and the big powers' struggle for economic and political control over Madagascar did not yet come to an end.

Any settlement of these questions by compromise or mutual concessions was out of question, since each of the three great powers was striving to establish its own great African colonial empire. Each of them wished, first of all, to seize all that was still unoccupied, and pinned its hope on its own force and diplomatic skill.

There was, however, one question in which the three great powers were unanimous. It was the question of the Congo Basin. Any plan to create a unified African empire, connecting the existing possessions in various corners of Africa, was doomed to failure because the very heart of the continent, the Congo Basin, was held by King LEOPOLD who had established there the "Independent State of the Congo". As sovereign master of this huge territory, which separated the west from the east coast and the southern parts from the northern regions, the royal adventurer was in a position to stop any one of the great powers from creating contact between its own possessions, though compared to the big powers the King of the Belgians represented a force of no importance. None of the great powers would have had any difficulty in occupying his territory upon some pretence. Since, however, the control of the Congo Basin would have ensured any one of them a ruling position in all Africa, none of them could have tolerated this basin being occupied by another. And in order to prevent this, each of them agreed to renounce its claim to the Congo, lest the others should take hold of it. The sly scoundrel LEOPOLD was fully aware of this crucial conflict of the interests of the great powers, and he took it into account in creating his personal "State".

None of the great powers could therefore occupy the Congo, considering the opposition of the rivals. But this did not prevent them from coming to an agreement that they would break LEOPOLD's claim to "sovereignty" by extorting from him permission, on an equal footing, to exploit his territory as a source of raw materials and a market, to make investments there, and to establish contacts between their respective possessions situated in various corners of the continent. This was what the Berlin Conference was intended to carry out.

The Berlin Conference was formally summoned at the initiative of Portugal, but its real initiator was Germany. Its participants included the majority of European powers and the United States of America. The Conference lasting from November 15, 1884, to February 26, 1885, drafted and adopted an international convention relating to Central Africa ("General Act").

By this agreement, the territory occupied by LEOPOLD in the Congo Basin was recognized as an "independent State" headed by LEOPOLD, that is, it was declared personal property of the King of the Belgians. In this "conventional basin" of the Congo (the territory between 5°N. and the Zambezi River) it was stated that "the trade of all nations shall enjoy complete freedom."

France did not join the Berlin Conference until she agreed with the International Association of LEOPOLD that the latter would recognize France's preferential right to the purchase of all territories of the Association in the event of their being offered for sale. The General Act was signed by France, only after she and the Association had concluded an agreement (on February 5) to the effect that the Association recognized France's territorial claims to the whole region west of the right bank of the lower Congo and Ubangi Rivers (Gabon and the Middle Congo).

The question of Central Africa was in this way settled. But the Berlin Conference, as such, did not settle, nor did it discuss, any outstanding dispute between the great powers as to the unoccupied territories.

Schemes of Conquest after the Berlin Conference

After the Berlin Conference the power struggle did not abate, but increased. In the new situation that arose in connexion with the settlement of the problem of Central Africa, the formerly devised general plans of the great powers to create their own "African empire" assumed more concrete forms.

Britain's ambition, on the whole, was to create a connected chain of British possessions in Africa "from the Cape to Cairo". The originator of this scheme and one of those who led the predatory struggle for its implementation was the Prime Minister of the Cape, the speculator CECIL RHODES who acquired great wealth out of his actions.¹

To carry out this plan the British bourgeoisie, whose representative RHODES was, set itself the task of occupying the Boer republics, the still unoccupied vast territory between the Limpopo and the Zambezi (named later Southern Rhodesia) and between the Zambezi and Lake Tanganyika (named later Northern Rhodesia), as well as Uganda, the Eastern Sudan and Ethiopia.

The imperialist bourgeoisie of France was dreaming of a unified "French Africa." It was striving to connect all existing French possessions by seizing new territories. It intended to occupy the Central and Eastern Sudan and part of Ethiopia, thus connecting its possessions in the Western Sudan with the Red Sea coast (Obok) and carving out a broad strip across the continent between 10° and 20°N. approximately. At the same time, the occupation of the Central Sudan (the regions around Lake Chad) should have connected the French colonies in Algeria and the Sahara with the colonies on the lower Congo and Ubangi Rivers.

¹ See p. 372 ff.

Also, France intended to expand her equatorial possessions eastward by seizing Uganda. Equally, she decided to accomplish the conquest of Madagascar at any cost.

Imperialist *Germany* was also hatching plans of expanding and connecting all her possessions. To establish contact between Southwest Africa and German East Africa, she was planning the seizure of the two Rhodesias, the establishment of a German protectorate over the Boer republics, the occupation of the southern portion of the Congo and even the northern half of the Portuguese colony of Mozambique. With a view to connecting the Cameroons with East Africa, she wished, on the one hand, to seize the territories adjoining Lake Chad and the Shari River and, on the other hand, to expand her East African colony westward by taking possession of Uganda and the southern part of the Eastern Sudan. She proposed to secure a passage between the Shari River and Uganda by making an agreement with Britain, France and LEOPOLD on minor rectifications of the boundaries.

Weak as *Italy* was in comparison with the three great world powers at that time, she could not dream of a big African empire. Failing completely in her efforts to create a foothold on the Mediterranean coast (her attempts to seize Tunis and Tripoli early in the eighties were unsuccessful), she wished to compensate herself in East Africa by occupying Ethiopia and the Somali coast.

Finally, little *Portugal* did not yet give up her plans to connect her colonies in Angola and Mozambique by seizing both Northern Rhodesia and the region of Lake Nyasa.

Each of these powers set itself the twofold task of carrying out its own plans and preventing its adversaries from carrying out their own. These two aims coincided in a considerable measure. For instance, the occupation by Britain of the Eastern Sudan (which was indispensable for her "Cape to Cairo" plan) would have frustrated France's "west-east" plan. British seizure of Uganda would have upset the plans of Germany in East Africa. The seizure of Northern Rhodesia by Britain would have routed both the German and the Portuguese schemes. And, on the other hand, the seizure of Uganda by Germany or of the Eastern Sudan by France would have thwarted the "Cape to Cairo" plan of the British, while the occupation of the Lake Chad region by Germany or Britain would have spelt a complete fiasco for both plans of France.

Forms and Methods of the Struggle

Apart from new conquests, the boundaries of the already existing possessions had to be fixed. In this struggle the competing powers tried everywhere to cut a fair portion for themselves. It stands to reason, however, that they were striving, above all, to expand their possessions wherever this especially suited their aspirations or hampered the plans of rivals. For instance, Britain feverishly proceeded to expand her possession in Nigeria in order to come nearer to the main object of French and German aspirations, the Lake Chad region; Germany in turn forced expansion in the Cameroons; France made utmost efforts to encircle the British and German possessions in West Africa, etc.

In pursuit of their aims the great powers set in action, besides expeditionary forces, also every means of diplomatic warfare. The latter was carried on not only in the form of official diplomatic negotiations, by sending out "frontier commissions", concluding agreements, etc., but also through fraud, cunning devices and sordid intrigues. Britain, for example, in order to keep away her most dangerous rival, France, from Ethiopia, changed her position regarding Italian claims and began to support



THE MAIN STAGES OF THE EUROPEAN INTRUSION
AND EXPANSION IN AFRICA

1885



THE MAIN STAGES OF THE EUROPEAN INTRUSION
AND EXPANSION IN AFRICA
1895



THE MAIN STAGES OF THE EUROPEAN INTRUSION
AND EXPANSION IN AFRICA
1902

Italy's aspirations for a protectorate over Ethiopia. In South Africa Britain and Germany were double-crossing each other. Germany, on the one hand, came to a secret agreement with Britain concerning the partition of the Portuguese colonies (1898) and, on the other, contracted deep "friendship" with the Boer republics, with the intention of thwarting the British designs and gaining control over the Boer States in the form of a German protectorate. Britain, in her turn, while concluding with Germany an agreement on the division of the Portuguese possessions, guaranteed Portugal the undisturbed possession of her colonies.

The Struggle for the Partition of Africa from 1885 to 1895

The events and the outcome of the power struggle in the second stage of the partition of Africa (1885—95) can be summed up as follows:

In *West Africa* Britain and France, after the Cameroons and Togo had been declared German possessions, were compelled to acquiesce in the accomplished fact and to conclude an agreement with Germany on mutual recognition of their West African possessions (1885).

For many years afterwards all three great powers were concerned with the factual occupation of their territories, and in the course of fixing the boundaries each of them time and again tried to lay hands on bigger and bigger portions of territory. It was France who came off victorious in this power struggle. In 1900, after several military campaigns, she succeeded in actually occupying all those territories which were due to her by the treaties concluded with Britain and Germany.

By that time France also united her possessions in Equatorial Africa in a single colony under the name of the "French Congo" and considerably expanded them in the regions of the Ubangi and Shari Rivers and Lake Chad.

This is how France accomplished her plans concerning West and Equatorial Africa. She established a united French colonial empire from Senegal to the western frontier of Darfur and from the Mediterranean to Gabon. The British and German possessions were encircled by territories occupied by France. Britain and Germany could not prevent this, since their own expansion into the interior of the Western and Central Sudan (Britain's in Nigeria and on the Gold Coast, Germany's in the Cameroons and Togo), owing to the opposition of local tribes and peoples, proceeded at a slow pace. The complete and "final" partition of West Africa (the Western and Central Sudan) was then laid down in a number of Anglo-French and Franco-German agreements.

In *East Africa* the German East African Company (founded in 1885) and the British East Africa Company (chartered in 1886), rivalling with each other, were busy expanding their possessions. Late in 1886 Britain and Germany made an agreement on the delimitation of their "spheres of influence". By this agreement Germany acknowledged Britain's right almost to all the territory of present-day Kenya. This is how the plans of Germany to occupy all East Africa failed.

The question of *Uganda*, however, remained unsolved. Britain, Germany and France alike endeavoured to seize this country. Neither the French missionaries' plotting to subject the country to their influence, nor the attempts of the German agent PETERS to acquire it for Germany through a fraudulent "treaty" with MWANGA, the *kabaka* of Buganda, were crowned with success. British capital considered this country so important that it decided to grab it by force, cost what it might. Britain needed Uganda to carry out her "Cape to Cairo" plan. Besides, it was a cotton-growing country. Finally, its occupation was necessary for Britain in order to make

it impossible for the Mahdist State to expand southward. Making use of the new situation in world politics (Germany was afraid that an Anglo-Franco-Russian alliance would be made), Britain brought pressure to bear upon Germany and managed to conclude the so-called "Helgoland Agreement" (1890) on the final partition of East Africa between the two powers to the effect that Uganda as a whole fell to the lot of the British East Africa Company. In this agreement Germany recognized the British protectorate over Zanzibar and Pemba, and Germany received the island of Mafia, several compensations in other places of Africa, and the island of Helgoland in the North Sea which she had been longing to possess for many years past. Having agreed with Germany, Britain actually took possession of Uganda and, in order to stabilize her rule, got rid of the Moslem priests and Catholic missionaries, these vehicles of Arab and French influence. In 1894, when the British East Africa Company was wound up, Uganda was made an ordinary British colony ("protectorate"). This was a great stride towards the completion of the "Cape to Cairo" plan.

In South Africa to the north of the Limpopo River the events also favoured the British designs, leading to a complete fiasco of German and Portuguese aspirations. Late in the eighties RHODES succeeded, by luring the chief of the Matabele tribes, LOBENGULA, into fraudulent treaties, in occupying for his own British South Africa Company the country of the Matabele and Mashona tribes between the Limpopo and Zambezi (which was to become Southern Rhodesia); in the course of the nineties he seized also the vast territory of the Marotse-Mabunda tribal federation between the Zambezi River, Lake Nyasa, Lake Tanganyika and the Congo River (present-day Zambia). Thus it happened that the German plans of linking up Southwest Africa with German East Africa were frustrated, independently of the further fate of the Boer republics.

Portugal's efforts to connect Mozambique and Angola also ended in complete failure. After an armed conflict between British and Portuguese troops (September 1890), Portugal was compelled to put her scheme by and recognize Britain's sovereignty over both banks of the Shiré River in the region adjacent to the western shore of Lake Nyasa (Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 1891).

The Anglo-French rivalry on *Madagascar* was settled by compromise. The war that broke out between France and Madagascar in 1883, and in which Britain also had a part on the pretext of "protecting the independence of Madagascar," lasted two and a half years and terminated in a tie. But the Anglo-French intrigues and the attempts of both great powers to gain exclusive economic and political control over Madagascar did not cease until 1890 when Britain and France came to an agreement: Britain definitively waived her claims to Madagascar in exchange for French concessions in other regions. Upon this France, late in 1894, sent a strong expeditionary force to Madagascar and, breaking down the heroic resistance of the Hova armies, in 1896 occupied the whole island and made it her colony.

Africa in 1895

This is how most of the controversial issues between the great powers were settled without any serious armed conflicts already by about the middle of the nineties of the 19th century. Two disputed points, however, were still waiting to be settled.

1. The disagreement between Britain and France in the question of hegemony in the northern half of East Africa (the Eastern Sudan and Ethiopia). Hegemony in this part of Africa meant to Britain the accomplishment of the "Cape to Cairo"

plan, and to France the materialization of her dreams about a French African empire from the west coast to the shores of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. The quarrel over East Africa (the Eastern Sudan and Ethiopia) therefore became for these two powers the crucial point. It had to be decided which of them was to dominate in Africa as a whole.

2. The disagreement between Britain and Germany in the question of hegemony in South Africa. The struggle went on for the possession of the most valuable part of Africa — the country of gold and diamonds, the Boer republics. In addition, Britain needed these lands for the realization of the "Cape to Cairo" plan. Most important of all for Germany and also for France was to rebuff Britain just in this sector, where the most vital interests of British capital were at issue.

These two main differences in the latter half of the nineties led to three big clashes of the imperialist powers. In each case the dispute of the imperialists was intricately interwoven with the differences between the imperialists and the African peoples fighting for independence. The main disputes of the imperialist powers in Africa were settled in the given stage by three great imperialist wars. Yet these wars were not directly fought between the competing imperialist powers, but were wars of conquest against independent African peoples.

The Struggle for Ethiopia

The explosives piled up over decades on account of the Anglo-French tug-of-war for East Africa erupted in Ethiopia first. Here Italy, backed up by Britain, was carrying on a war of conquest against Ethiopia which, in turn, enjoyed the support of France. Ethiopia was fighting, of course, not for French imperialist interests but for her own independence. In the given stage, however, both Ethiopia and French imperialism were interested in thwarting the British and Italian schemes of conquest.

The Italo-Ethiopian war of 1895–96 brought victory to Ethiopia. This meant also that the struggle for Ethiopia ended in defeat for both Italy and Britain. They had for a while to give up the idea of conquering Ethiopia which, at the time the first partition of Africa was completed, was thus able to preserve her independence.

The defeat of Italy, and also of Britain, in the Ethiopian war signified a temporary victory of the French imperialists whose aim was, not to occupy Ethiopia, but to quell her independence. French military assistance to Ethiopia enabled France to strengthen considerably her economic and political influence in the country. At the same time, however, the fact that Ethiopia was able to safeguard her independence brought the question of the Eastern Sudan to a head. Now the realization of the British "Cape to Cairo" plan and of the French idea of an African empire "from Senegal to Somaliland" culminated for both powers in the question of the Eastern Sudan. Had the British succeeded in their plans in Ethiopia, the question of the Eastern Sudan would have been settled in favour of Britain. With the failure of these plans, however, the chances rose considerably for France to realize her long-cherished dream of extending her rule over the eastern part of the Sudan as well.

Anglo-French Conflict in the Eastern Sudan (Fashoda)

France was encouraged by the very events in the Eastern Sudan. Already by the time of the Berlin Conference a great part of the Eastern Sudan was in the hands of the Mahdists. In the very days when the Conference was in session, the Mahdists

carried Khartoum by assault (January 25, 1885), and in the course of 1885 Britain evacuated all her troops from the Sudan. In the Eastern Sudan the Mahdists formed a big independent State. To conquer this State, Britain ought to have mobilized considerable armed forces. In view of the precarious situation in Egypt, however, Britain did not commit herself to this course, any more because she originally hoped to weaken the Mahdists by provoking wars between Ethiopia and the Mahdist State. But these wars brought victory to the Mahdists. Later on Britain expected that the occupation of Ethiopia by Italy she herself instigated would soon make it easier for her to take action in the Sudan. Now these plans also collapsed. Ethiopia found herself under French influence.

France, in view of the new situation favourable to her, found the moment propitious for quick action. As early as February 1896, a month before the decisive defeat of the Italians at Adowa, France despatched a military expedition under the command of Major MARCHAND with the commission of forcing its way from Abangi (West Equatorial Africa) into the Eastern Sudan. After the defeat of Italy, France concluded a treaty of alliance with the Emperor MENELIK and, together with him, during 1897—98, organized several military expeditions with the double task of conquering some territory west of the country for Ethiopia and of clearing the way for France into the Eastern Sudan. Some of these expeditions were to intrude into the Eastern Sudan and join hands with the MARCHAND expedition at Fashoda.

The failure of the British plan regarding Ethiopia, and the French action, convinced Britain that this time she would not achieve her aims by relying only upon what others would undertake, and that the decisive moment in the struggle with France for domination in Africa had come. Ten days after the battle of Adowa the British government gave orders to start vast military operations against the Mahdists. There began the British imperialists' war of conquest against the peoples of the Eastern Sudan led by the Mahdists heroically fighting for independence ("the battle of the Nile").

After two years' unequal struggle, the British troops inflicted a complete defeat on the Mahdists at the battle of Omdurman in September 1898. The Mahdists, it is true, were not yet crushed definitively, they were able to withdraw with the remaining forces into remoter provinces of the Sudan and to continue the struggle for a while, but the largest and most significant regions of the Eastern Sudan were already occupied by British forces.

The British had forced their attack upon the Mahdists (1896—98) not only because of the failure of their plans in Ethiopia, but also because Britain endeavoured, cost what it might, to prevent France from penetrating into the Sudan. Although MARCHAND, still before KITCHENER's decisive victory at Omdurman (in July 1898), arrived in Fashoda and hoisted there the French flag, yet none of the expeditions sent from Ethiopia into the Sudan succeeded in reaching Fashoda and joining forces with MARCHAND. Now that Britain had occupied the Eastern Sudan, the Anglo-French struggle that had gone on for years for Northeast Africa was definitely decided in favour of Britain. Having gained a foothold in Egypt and in the greater part of the Eastern Sudan where she kept big armed forces, Britain was in a position to compel France to put aside her designs on this part of the continent.

And now, after the victory at Omdurman, KITCHENER sent his troops to Fashoda. The British and French forces stood facing each other. An Anglo-French war was a near go. But the superiority of forces was on the side of Britain there and then.

Besides, it was not to the interest of France to war against Britain. She took into account the community of her own and Britain's interests in European and world

politics, where the main adversary of them both was Germany. A Franco-British war on account of Africa would have strengthened Germany considerably.

And this settled the outcome of the struggle. As a result of diplomatic negotiations, France instructed MARCHAND to leave Fashoda and withdraw from the Eastern Sudan. The agreement concluded between Britain and France in March 1899 completed the partition of Central Africa, definitely stabilizing Britain's position in the Eastern Sudan, which was considered a "common possession" (condominium) of Britain and Egypt.

The Anglo-Boer War. Completion of the Conquest and Partition of Africa

The seizure of the Eastern Sudan by Britain completed the partition of Central Africa and, at the same time, the first partition of all Tropical Africa. The only outstanding issue was the fate of the large territory of the Boer republics.

Late in the eighties, after the discovery of rich gold-fields in the Transvaal (1886), the former British plan to conquer the Boer republics was again made the order of the day. An economic war broke out between British capitalists and the Boer republics. Besides, CECIL RHODES and his agents resorted to the policy of provocation. On the pretence of supporting the movement for democratic rights of the British colonists allegedly oppressed by the Boer authorities, they pursued subversive activities in the Boer republics and in 1895 organized the JAMESON raid upon the Transvaal, and prepared a revolt of the British colonists. This provocation, however, failed dismally.

After the fiasco of the JAMESON adventure Britain did not give up her plans to occupy the Boer republics by force. But complications in other countries (the wars in Ethiopia and the Eastern Sudan among them) and the sharpening of the Anglo-French conflict in Central Africa compelled Britain to delay action. At the same time she decided to prepare for military conquest and to ensure its success in advance by coming to an agreement with Germany. In 1898 she agreed, as mentioned above, upon the division of the Portuguese colonies. It is by no mere chance that the conclusion of this agreement coincided with the liquidation of the Fashoda incident (October 1898). Establishing herself definitely in the Eastern Sudan, Britain wanted to have a free hand to start action in South Africa against the Boer republics and, also, to complete her African conquests.

In 1898 Britain stepped up her policy of provocation by artificially creating and exaggerating every minor conflict with the Boers. All attempts by the Boer governments to smooth these conflicts and to normalize relations between the Boer republics and Great Britain by peaceful means, by means of negotiations or arbitration, were wrecked by the stubbornness of British policy-makers (first of all, JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN).

Britain had already decided to make war and was preparing for it, and in September 1899 she at last succeeded in provoking its outbreak. There began the second Anglo-Boer war which, after two and a half years of heroic struggle of the Boers, ended in British victory and the conquest of the Boer republics by Britain.

This was the last act of the great drama that was the conquest of Africa. With the independence of the Boer republics suppressed, virtually the whole vast African continent (with the exception of Ethiopia and Liberia and certain insignificant regions in the interior) was parcelled out and occupied by a few European powers.

LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF THE PEOPLES OF BLACK AFRICA IN THE PERIOD OF ITS PARTITION (1870—1900)

First Stage of the Conquest (1870—1885)

The seventies and early eighties of the 19th century were the period of *preparation* for the partition and definitive conquest of the African countries. In most places it did not yet come to actual occupation. The great powers were busy exploring the interior regions, concluding agreements with individual local chiefs, etc. At the same time there were, in some places, occasional clashes between travellers and other agents of European powers, on the one hand, and African tribes, on the other. But these were only minor local engagements, for the most part, of a purely spontaneous character. Although the majority of African peoples were looking upon the European newcomers, as upon all kinds of "aliens", with deep suspicion or even open hostility, they nevertheless did not yet understand the true significance of the European invasion threatening to deprive them of their lands and independence.

But awareness of the danger was already brewing in the leaders of many African peoples. In some of these peoples there appeared in this period wise and far-sighted leaders who suspected or guessed the real intentions of the Europeans concealed behind the unctious "peace-loving" parlance of European missionaries and travellers. From their intercourse with the foreigners, from their experience of minor conflicts with them or of the fraudulent tricks of the Europeans, they gradually became conscious of the danger threatening their peoples and of their own weakness in the impending struggle. Led by the desire to safeguard their peoples' independence, they endeavoured to avoid premature actions against the stronger adversary. Avoiding, as far as possible, any conflict with the Europeans, they began preparing their peoples for the inevitable future struggles; they were striving to organize their subjects and to supply them with weapons, and — above all — to unite as many tribes as possible for the common struggle against the common enemy.

Such wise, energetic and talented leaders of their peoples were RAINILAIARIVONI, the Prime Minister of Madagascar; the Zulu chief, CETYWAYO, and Chief LOBENGULA of the Matabele in South Africa; LAT-DIOR, the chief of Cayor country, and SAMORY, who united the peoples of the Western Sudan, in West Africa; outstanding figures of East Africa in this period were two big chiefs: MUTESA, the *kabaka* of Uganda, and MIRAMBO, the chief of the Wanyamwezi tribes.

But, as already stated, Britain, and in some measure France too, already in this period began their attacks in certain regions of Africa with direct aims of conquest in mind. In the course of these attacks, they met with resolute resistance on the part of local peoples everywhere, including those of the above-mentioned chiefs who, despite their wise policy, could not prevent the conflicts.

This resistance in the beginning was successful in many places. Britain, for instance, received a deserved rebuff on the Gold Coast in her seventh war with the Ashanti (1873) as well as in Ethiopia, where she brought Egyptian intervention into play. France met with embittered resistance on Madagascar in the war of 1883—85 and in the Western Sudan in the first war with SAMORY (1882—86). But in several cases the African peoples were not in a position to repel the assault of the European armed forces equipped with the most up-to-date weapons. Such was the case, for instance, in South Africa, where the Zulu, Xhosa and Basuto peoples, despite their magnificent heroism, were subdued by the British troops. And the same happened in a number of places in West Africa, where, for instance, France in 1882 defeated

and deposed the chief of Cayor country, LAT-DIOR, who had heroically resisted French aggression, and replaced him by a puppet of her own.

It was the Eastern Sudan that, late in the seventies and particularly in the early eighties, became one of the most important sectors of the African peoples' struggle against the imperialist conquerors. Towards the end of the seventies two big events took place in the Eastern Sudan: the revolt of SOLIMAN ZIBER in Bahr el Ghazal, and that of Sultan HARUN in Darfur. True, both revolts were suppressed, but already in 1881 there began the Mahdist revolt which by 1885 led to the complete liberation of the Eastern Sudan from under the alien yoke.

Second Stage of the Conquest (1885—1900)

The stage of the definitive conquest and partition of Africa was the period of imperialist wars and campaigns of conquest of European powers against African peoples. This space of time in the history of the African peoples was the period of incessant and increasingly vigorous righteous wars and insurrections.

In the various countries of Africa these wars and insurrections were of different character.

At the beginning of the eighties very few African countries had an established form of state organization and regular armies equipped with more or less modern weapons. Such countries were, besides the Boer republics, only Ethiopia and Madagascar. With them, as already mentioned, the imperialists had to wage great and prolonged wars. Righteous anti-imperialist wars were carried on by the Boers against Britain, the Ethiopians against Italy, and the Malagasy against France. These peoples mobilized to this end all human and material resources of their countries. In this unequal struggle fought against armies of stronger adversaries, these freedom-loving peoples gave brilliant examples of patriotism, heroism and endurance.

However, nowhere else in Black Africa were there so highly developed States as those of the Boers, the Ethiopians and the Malagasy. In the majority of African countries, therefore, the defensive struggle for independence took on the form of liberation wars and insurrections of *individual tribes*. Such tribal wars and insurrections in this period took place in the West African countries (in British, French and German colonies in West Africa alike) and in certain countries of South and East Africa — in the Matabele country and Mashonaland ("Southern Rhodesia"), in South-west Africa and Mozambique, in the British East Africa Protectorate and Uganda. We find a brilliant array of heroic exploits in the history of the many wars of liberation and insurrections of *tribes* in this period. In the struggle with the imperialist conquerors many African tribes produced splendid popular heroes of their own. Such were, for instance: the chief of the Dahomeyan people, GBEDASSE (BEHANZIN); Chief LOBENGULA of the Matabele; the chief of Cayor country, LAT-DIOR; chiefs MWANGA and KABAREGA in Uganda; the chief of the Khoi-Khoi people in Southwest Africa, HENDRIK WITBOOI, etc.

However, neither the heroism of the tribes nor the ability and devotion of their chiefs could block the attack of the imperialists. In most cases the wars and insurrections of these tribes lasted for a very short time, no longer than a few months, and terminated everywhere in the defeat of the resisting tribes. And it could not have happened otherwise for two reasons:

1. The main and fundamental reason for the defeat of the African tribes' liberation wars rooted in the socio-economic backwardness of these tribes and in their weakness

2. The individual tribes fighting in isolation from the others, however good their organization and military equipment may have been (missing, though, in many of them), proved helpless in the struggle against powerful aggressors.

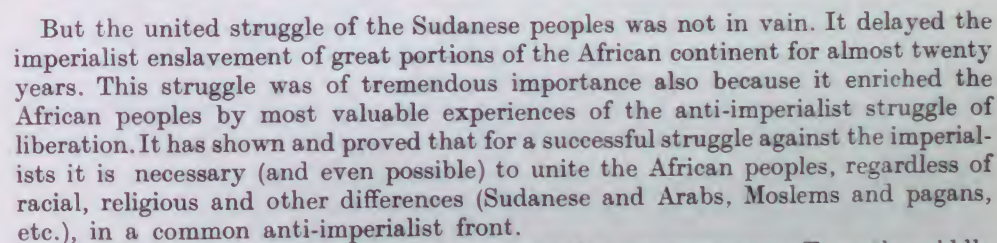
Such contact, and still more the joining of forces, was completely missing in most cases. Joint actions of several tribes were rare occurrences. And even where such actions did take place, they were rather only concerted parallel efforts of a few tribes than a united struggle under common leadership. This was the case in Southwest Africa, where the chief of one of the Khoi-Khoi tribes, HENDRIK WITBOOI, in 1893 succeeded in raising several tribes in revolt. The same happened in Southern Rhodesia, where in the spring of 1896 the Matabele and Mashona tribes, which had formerly been hostile to each other, united for the struggle against the intruders and raised a joint insurrection.

Three Big Centres of the Liberation Struggle of African Peoples at the Close of the 19th Century

The realization of this task required the creation of powerful centralized State federations, which meant a stride forward from the tribal organization of society towards the feudal type of State (retaining inevitably elements of slavery). In the eighties this was carried out in three regions of Tropical Africa. Three big popular leaders of African tribes, completely independently from one another, established three large state federations. These three new countries were the Mahdist State in the Eastern Sudan, the State of RABAH in the Central Sudan, and the State of SAMORY in the Western Sudan. The birth of these States and their struggle against the imperialists ushered a new stage in the history of the African peoples' liberation struggle.

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All three of these glorious, heroic attempts by the peoples of the Sudan to ward off the occupation of their lands by the imperialists, ultimately also ended in failure. Even unity and organization did not suffice to save the economically and militarily backward, weak peoples of Africa from enslavement by European capitalism.



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As a direct consequence of the Mahdist movement in the Sudan, all these heroic wars and insurrections of the peoples of East and Equatorial Africa, thanks to the union of Bantu tribes and Arabs, were apt to block for a while the imperialist enslavement of certain regions. Since, however, in respect of their social and economic development, all these peoples were even more backward and weaker than the peoples of the Eastern Sudan, they could not safeguard their independence.

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CHAPTER II

WEST AFRICA

THE EUROPEAN POWERS IN WEST AFRICA

In the seventies of the 19th century *Britain* continued her systematic expansion in West Africa. In 1871–72 she managed to make a deal of principle with Holland, which agreed to cede to Britain gradually all her remaining possessions on the Gold Coast in exchange for some concession on the island of Sumatra. Having secured a firm foothold in their now expanded possessions, the British proceeded to supply the Fanti tribes with arms, in the hope to use them for crushing the Ashanti and occupying their country. But the Ashanti preceded them and defeated the Fanti (1872). They even assaulted the British forts but could not take them. A year afterwards the British, concentrating strong troops in the Gold Coast colony, started an attack upon the Ashanti. In this seventh war with the brave Ashanti people, the British captured and burnt the capital of Ashanti, Kumasi (February 4, 1874). They were, however, unable to vanquish the Ashanti forces and to occupy the country. They were again compelled to conclude peace and recognize Ashanti's independence.

In other regions of West Africa (Sierra Leone and the Nigeria coast) the British in the course of the seventies expanded the colony here and there without making war, through "agreements" with local chiefs.

Germany throughout the seventies was unremittingly sending reconnaissance expeditions to West Africa (NACHTIGAL, F. BARTH), but she did not start open aggression.

Losing strength in the war with Germany, *France* in the early seventies displayed little activity in West Africa. In Cayor the French again recognized LAT-DIOR (1871). In Senegal they were engaged in "reforming" the administration and sending a few exploring expeditions to the north. It was only in Guinea and Dahomey that in the mid-seventies they again began "treaty-signing" with the local rulers for territorial concessions. For example, in April 1878 they once again forced King GLÉGLÉ of Dahomey to "sign" a one-sided "treaty" ceding the coast region (Cotonu, etc.) to the French.

Growing Aggression Late in the Seventies and Early in the Eighties

The latter years of the seventies witnessed a turning point in the colonial activity of all European great powers in West Africa. After an interval of a few years France stepped up her policy of expansion and proceeded to take action.

The French Parliament in 1879 ratified the project of development of the French possessions in "Senegambia" (Senegal) — the plan of building fortifications, rail-

ways, etc. The same year saw the birth, in Great Britain, of the "National African Company" for trading with West Africa. Germany did not yet make changes in her colonial policy officially, but the turn was near at hand: BISMARCK did not commit himself to take an open stand for the establishment of a colonial empire as yet, but the German bourgeoisie was already preparing for action.

After the National African Company was founded, Britain began to occupy the Nigeria coast. On the Gold Coast she was trying to provoke a new "conflict" with the Ashanti (1881), but without success, and definitely agreed with Holland upon the complete cession of the Dutch possessions to Britain (1884). In Sierra Leone at first she smashed repeated uprisings of local tribes (1880), then secured some treaties with a number of tribal chiefs. In 1882 the first Anglo-French agreement was reached on the delimitation of the boundaries of Sierra Leone and French Guinea.

Germany in 1879 considerably intensified her "explorations" by sending to West Africa expedition after expedition: ZWEIFEL (who then was still in the French service; 1879), LENZ (1879—80), DÖLTER (1880—1881), FLEGEL (1880—84), etc. German commercial firms acquired ever more concessions and established trading settlements one after another.

From the years 1879—80 onwards, however, the most active of all were the French. In 1880, after making a number of "treaties of peace" with tribal chiefs, they proclaimed Mauritania a French protectorate. In 1881 they occupied the country of Futa Jallon and declared it also a French protectorate. In 1882 they deposed LAT-DIOR in Cayor because he had opposed the construction of railways, and replaced him by a puppet of their own with whom in the following year they concluded a treaty making labour force available for the railway construction. In the years 1880—83 several French military expeditions (those of Colonel GALLIÉNI, General BORGNISS-DESBORDES, BAILLOL, etc.) simultaneously penetrated into the Western Sudan, pushed the French acquisitions as far as the region of the upper Niger, built a garrison at Bamako, and proceeded to the construction of a railway line.

During the same years (1883—85) France occupied additional regions on the Ivory Coast and in Dahomey.

German Conquests and the Partition of West Africa (1884—85)

In 1884 a new chapter began in the history of the conquest and partition of West Africa. Britain continued to watch with jealous eyes the intensifying activity of France in West Africa and Gabon and the German "exploring" journeys. Already in November 1883 Britain decided to create a new colony on the shore of the Bight of Biafra, in order to expand her possessions on the Slave Coast. But the matter was delayed, and Britain was forestalled by Germany.

From January 1884 on, German warships began to make their appearance along the West African coasts. In January and February the Germans seized several places on the Dahomey coast. The chiefs of the resisting tribes were taken into captivity and carried away on board German vessels. In April the German government decided to set up several colonies in Africa. In June the NACHTIGAL naval expedition was sent to West Africa with the task of seizing any region of the west coast unoccupied by France or Britain. In the course of the first half of July, NACHTIGAL, on the strength of hastily concluded "treaties" with chiefs of local tribes, occupied several places between the Gold Coast and Dahomey (Lomé, Togo) and in the Bight of Biafra, and declared them German protectorates.

30. The Sultan Samory
(see pp. 314—315)



31. Gbedasse, king of Dahomey
(see p. 316)

Having learned about this, the British suddenly made up their minds and hurriedly proclaimed the British protectorate over Amba Bay and the Oil Rivers region (Calabar, Benin). After haggling for a short while, Britain and Germany came to terms between themselves and also with France (March and December 1885). Both Britain and France recognized the Cameroons and Togoland as German colonies, while Germany gave up several places elsewhere (in the region of British possessions in Benin and in Southeast Africa, and in the French sphere of influence in Senegal), which she had seized late in 1884 and early in 1885 in order to have them in stock in case it would become necessary to make some concessions.

THE ACTUAL OCCUPATION OF WEST AFRICA

The agreements on West Africa concluded between Britain, Germany and France concerned not only the relatively insignificant coastal regions which these powers did effectively possess. They agreed also to partition the hinterland of those colonies, that is, the enormous interior areas adjoining them. After coming to terms with one another, all three great powers were for many years engaged in carrying into effect the occupation of territories they had for the time being acquired only by paper agreements. The latter years of the eighties and the entire following decade were to West Africa a period of unending campaigns and punitive expeditions of the three big powers for the conquest of the interior areas and for the "pacification" of already occupied territories whose "subjugated" peoples rose against the imperialist aggressors one after another.

British Ventures

Britain had to make great efforts to suppress several serious risings in Gambia (1894—1901) and Sierra Leone (1898).

On the Gold Coast, the British unexpectedly attacked Ashanti in 1895 with great forces, occupied Kumasi, captured King NANA PREMPE of Ashanti and carried him into exile. The Ashanti country was declared a British protectorate. In the spring of 1900, however, the peoples of Ashanti raised an insurrection. The number of armed insurgents amounted to 40,000. They besieged Kumasi for four months. Then the arrival of considerable British reinforcements relieved Kumasi, but the war with the rebels continued for another six months, and the British did not succeed in crushing them until the very end of 1900. The country was definitively occupied and made a British colony.

After the proclamation of British protectorate over the Nigeria coast in 1886, the Royal Niger Company was formed. It immediately began concluding "treaties" with the local chiefs. The company managed to force them, in places, to accept the British protectorate. But as soon as the company's agents went farther into the country, they encountered resolute resistance from the local sultanates and emirates. These tribes were not so small and militarily not so unimportant as those on the coasts; they constituted strong Moslem States of the Fulah, Hausa and Yoruba people, with more or less strong standing armies. In addition, various minor coastal tribes, which had already signed certain treaties, soon came to understand that the question was that their countries would be occupied, and they revolted. In 1897 the company started to organize regular military campaigns with a view to subjugating all States

and tribes in Nigeria. In the course of the first three years (1897—1900) the company, supported by government troops, occupied several major countries in southern Nigeria: Ibadan, Ilorin, Nupe, Benin, and others. But the richest and militarily strongest big sultanates of northern Nigeria (Kano, Sokoto, etc.) still preserved their full independence.

In 1899—1900 the Niger Company was wound up, and the colony was taken over by the British government.

French Offensive in the Western Sudan

The main theatre of the French campaigns of conquest was the Western Sudan, where the French met with three big centres of resistance. The tribes of the north-western regions of the Western Sudan defended their independence under the command of a religious leader (*marabu*), MAHMADU LAMINE. In the region adjacent to the left bank of the upper reaches of the Niger River there still existed an independent Fulah State under the rule of AHMADU BIN TIDIANI, successor of OMAR. On the right bank of the Niger River and farther south was situated the independent State of Sultan SAMORY.

The first big military campaign under Colonel FREY (1885—86) brought no results. Colonel GALLIÉNI (1886—87), who was sent to take over the place of FREY, succeeded in defeating MAHMADU LAMINE, but he was no match for AHMADU and SAMORY, and was compelled to conclude peace with them.

Thereupon followed three years of calm. The French colonizers were busy organizing the colonial exploitation of Senegal, concluding new agreements with the sultan of Futa Jallon (1888), etc.

The French attack upon the peoples of the Sudan was resumed in 1890, when the new commander-in-chief of the French forces in West Africa, Colonel ARCHINARD, started a new war against AHMADU. In the following year (1891) he attacked SAMORY, too. AHMADU was defeated after three years' fierce struggle. The affair of the "liquidation of SAMORY," however, proved to be a much harder nut to crack.

Samory¹

SAMORY was one of the most outstanding figures in the history of the liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples of Africa. He was the son of a poor itinerant vendor from the Jula (Mandingo) tribe. Having served for many years in the troops of a Moslem sultan, SAMORY had learned the military art and became a fine war leader. He conquered and united a multitude of Western Sudan tribes, overthrew several local rulers and created a strong military State. When in the early eighties French expansion was speeded up, SAMORY fought stubborn struggles to safeguard the independence of his State. After a long war (1882—86) France felt compelled to conclude

¹ We have no knowledge of any monograph about SAMORY. Information on him can be found in the following sources: the account of the BRAULOT mission and the official report of the colony for 1898 (see p. 322); the work of FOUREAU (see p. 325); MARCHAND's article in the *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique Française* for 1896; and especially the work of Colonel BARATIER, *A travers l'Afrique* (Paris, 1912), pp. 60—117.

a treaty of peace with him. Being fully aware of the unstableness of this peace and of the military superiority of the French, SAMORY exploited the respite in order to prepare his people for resistance in the future. He organized a strong army and paid much attention to the development of agriculture. He made it obligatory for all tribes to till the land. Every village was obliged to sow in common a specified plot of land and provide in this way for the needs of the army. In addition, SAMORY introduced, for the entire population of his country, compulsory education in Moslem schools he set up to teach the people the Moslem religion and hatred for the alien invaders.

The armed forces of SAMORY's State consisted of three army corps: one of them was assigned to the task of fighting against the French; the second, in addition to taking part in the defensive operations of the first army corps, had to carry on offensive struggles to acquire new territory in case it would be necessary to withdraw; the third was commissioned to evacuate, if need arose, the entire population with all its property into other territories.

When the French started anew to fight SAMORY, he was able, thanks to his original strategy, to hold out for eight years (1891—98) in front of the big forces sent by France against him. Wandering with his people over vast territories of several hundred thousand square kilometres, he stubbornly fought the French, engaged in a great many battles, and was ultimately defeated, not by military strength, but as a consequence of treason. In 1898 he was taken into captivity and deported to Gabon.

French Conquests in Other Regions

Simultaneously with these big wars in the interior of the Sudan, France continued her campaigns of conquest also in other parts of West Africa.

Still in 1886, LAT-DIOR of Cayor again rose against the French. The insurrection was suppressed, LAT-DIOR killed, and the country apportioned among various chiefs appointed by the French.

Towards the end of the eighties France attempted to take Timbuktu, but the expeditions sent there sustained defeat after defeat (the CARON expedition in 1887, the JAIME expedition in 1889). Finally, in 1893, several French military expeditions succeeded, after fierce and sanguinary battles, in taking Djenné and Timbuktu and definitively establishing French rule over this region.

France was exceptionally active on the Ivory Coast. In the course of twelve years (1887—99) she sent there more than ten expeditions (BINGER, CROZAT, MARCHAND, CLOZEL, etc.), which gradually occupied the whole territory of the present-day Republic of the Ivory Coast.

The strongest and most organized resistance outside the Sudan was put up to the French by the tribes of Dahomey under the command of their chief, GBEDASSE.

The Conquest of Dahomey. Wars against Gbedasse

In 1888, Chief ("King") GLÉGLÉ of Dahomey openly denounced the agreement which France had imposed upon him in 1878 and by which he had ceded to her the Dahomey coast. For the sake of appearances the French entered into talks with him, but in fact they began to organize a military expedition against Dahomey. At that

time (December 1889) GLÉGLÉ died, and his son, GBEDASSE,¹ a man considerably more resolute than his father had been, flatly refused to recognize any sort of French rule over the Dahomey coast. The French began military operations against him. But after nine months of struggle the Dahomeyans, despite heavy losses, were still successful in repelling the attack of the French troops, while these were already on the verge of complete exhaustion. France was compelled to negotiate. Aware of the difficulty in fighting so much stronger an adversary, and desirous of having respite for strengthening the defences of his country, GBEDASSE accepted a compromise. He acknowledged the right of France to the littoral in the region of Porto Novo and to Cotonu, for which in exchange France recognized the sovereignty of Dahomey over the entire coastal region and promised to pay compensation for Cotonu.

But the peace was not to last long. In 1892 the French government, averse to acquiesce in this allegedly "humiliating" treaty with the "barbarian Behanzin", launched a new war upon him. This war lasted still longer, and was still more embittered, than the first one.

In the "historical works" of French and other authors GBEDASSE is made to appear as a bloodthirsty "despot" and "savage bandit". In fact, however, he was an exceptionally clever and talented man, a courageous and magnanimous leader of his people. He was able to create a well organized tribal army and inflicted a number of defeats on the French aggressors, repelling numberless attacks of the French troops in two wars between May 1892 and January 1894. We know about the real character of GBEDASSE from French officers and soldiers who met him in person. For instance, DUVAL, a French corporal fallen into captivity was set free by GBEDASSE for his bravery and fighting spirit shown in battle against the Dahomeyans.²

The French author MIMANDE, relying on narratives by eyewitnesses, describes GBEDASSE as follows:

"Behanzin gave evidence of uncommon personal qualities. Had he lived under another sky and had Providence granted him a skin of somewhat lighter hue, he would doubtless have become a very remarkable man. Martial instincts, boldness, courage in battle, endurance in defeat, cunning, finesse — he possessed all these qualities which, unfolded, combined and strengthened by study and experience, make the great generals. How often he divined our plans and frustrated them! How often he almost took our camps by surprise! And especially towards the end, when he was retreating, when our detachments were pressing hard on him from all sides, when his following and even his brothers had betrayed him, how shrewd he was to gain a small space, cover up his tracks, lead us astray, elude the ambushes set up at every step! What energy, what endurance he had to be able to bear fatigues, privations and moral torments!"³

The technical superiority of the French troops, however, eventually gained the upper hand. GBEDASSE's troops were beaten, the chief himself was taken prisoner and sent to the island of Martinique (but later on he was taken to Algiers where he died in 1906). His closest followers were exiled to Gabon. Part of the country was annexed by France, the rest of it was declared a French protectorate.

This protectorate in 1894 was divided into two parts, the "native kingdoms" of Abomey and Allada. These were governed by the chiefs whom the French authori-

ties had bribed and who had concluded with France "agreements" on the French protectorate. Later on, in 1900, under the pretext of "disturbances" (provoked by the French having violated their own treaties) the French removed their puppet (AGO-LI-AGBO) in Abomey, exiled him to Gabon, and made the country an ordinary colony.

By the close of the 19th century France had virtually taken possession of all territories in West Africa in respect of which she had come to terms with the other great powers. Only Mauritania and Niger remained, for a considerable part, in the hands of independent tribes that were not subjected to French rule.

The Cameroons and Togoland

When Germany was recognized as "proprietor" of the Cameroons and Togoland, she in fact was in possession of only a few coastal places there. Not only did she not yet taken possession of any territory in the interior of these countries, but she even had no clear picture of these countries and their peoples. To subjugate them, she had to explore them first. Throughout the first period of the existence of these colonies, right up to the end of the 19th century, the activity of the German colonizers was almost exclusively confined to such explorations. The many "exploring journeys" were in fact ruthless military campaigns, because many tribes offered resolute resistance to the invading aliens. In the wake of these "explorations" German administrative and military bases were set up one after another in the inland regions. And as the establishment of German administration was progressing, the spontaneous resistance of the tribes developed into organized insurrections against the conquerors. These risings were stifled in blood by German troops. The major events in this period were the rebellion of indigenous soldiers in the Cameroons in 1895 and the revolt of the Konkombe in Togo in 1896—97.

The colonial economy was still in an embryonic stage. The exports of the Cameroons consisted mainly of rubber, palm kernels and palm oil. Prior to 1900 annual exports from the Cameroons did not exceed six million marks, while those from Togoland were less than three million.

Power Struggle for the Region of Lake Chad

The interests of the three biggest powers in West Africa most sharply conflicted in the region of Lake Chad, that is, in the Central Sudan countries (Bornu, Baghirmi, Wadai). These countries were of exceptional strategic importance to Britain, France and Germany in so far as this territory served as a bridge between West and East Africa, and between the equatorial areas and the northern half of the continent. For France to take possession of this region meant connecting West and Equatorial Africa in a united French colonial empire. Britain and Germany made great efforts to balk this French project and at the same time to expand their possessions adjoining this region (Nigeria and the Cameroons, respectively).

For ten years from the late eighties onwards France sent expeditions one after another into the regions adjacent to Lake Chad and the Shari River. Expeditions set out both from the Western Sudan (MONTEIL, 1890—92) and from the south, from the Benue River and French Equatorial Africa (CRAMPÉL, 1888—91; MIZON, 1890—93; MAISTRE, 1892—93, etc.). Resorting now to force and now to the means of agree-

¹ The French distorted this name, pronouncing it like "Behanzin", and GBEDASSE is referred to everywhere in literature under this name.

² See PAUL MIMANDE, *L'héritage de Behanzin* (Paris, 1898), pp. 80—92.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 78—79.

ment with the African chiefs, these expeditions gradually seized enormous territories. At the same time with the French, the Germans also penetrated into the same area by way of the Cameroons (ZINTGRAFF, 1888—89; MORGEN, 1889—91, etc.), and the British advanced into Bornu from Nigeria.

The territories occupied around Lake Chad were first parcelled out among the great powers in 1893—94, when the Anglo-German treaty of 1893 and the Franco-German treaty of 1894 were concluded. Thereafter France even more energetically proceeded with the realization of her scheme (CLOZEL, GENTIL and others). British and German activity considerably slackened after 1893. Both great powers continued their campaigns of conquest in those regions of Nigeria and the Cameroons, respectively, which had been agreed upon as definitively belonging to them, but neither of them advanced further into the regions directly adjoining Lake Chad. The main reason for this attitude was the fact that in the Central Sudan countries the imperialist conquerors had to face both the rivalry of other powers and the stubborn resistance of Bornu, Baghirmi and Wadai. By this time the peoples of these countries had united for the defence of their independence under the leadership of a clever chief and talented commander, Sultan RABAH. In view of this circumstance, the British and German imperialists chose temporarily to allow France to fight alone with the Central Sudan peoples and to subjugate them, proposing to take up the struggle against France at a later date, when it would come to the share-out of the spoils already captured.

Rabah's Struggle against France

RABAH, the son of an Arab slave woman, was born in the Eastern Sudan. Late in the seventies he was one of the leaders of SOLIMAN ZIBER's revolt in the Eastern Sudan.¹ After the uprising had been suppressed, RABAH refused to surrender to the British. Together with six hundred of his loyal soldiers he moved into the Central Sudan. His aim was to establish, around Lake Chad, a strong independent country free from any links with the European aggressors. He succeeded in uniting and mobilizing many tribes and set up an army of several thousand men. From 1891 onwards, he had recurrent bloody engagements with the French. The French were for a long time unable to defeat him, while he grew stronger from year to year. In fact, he gradually built up a big independent country by uniting under his rule all Bornu and Baghirmi, and part of Wadai.

The French several times attempted to defeat RABAH by military force, but they suffered defeat after defeat. Even their alliance with the ex-sultans of Baghirmi and Wadai, who had been deposed by RABAH, was to no avail. Finally, in 1897, the French sent against RABAH, from three sides at the same time, three military expeditions: one under GENTIL and BRETONNET from Ubangi-Shari on the south, another under VOULET and CHANOINE² from Senegal, and the third under FOUREAU and LAMY from the north across the Sahara. After a fierce struggle, in 1900, the joint efforts of the three expeditions overpowered RABAH, who himself was killed in battle. His country fell apart. But part of the Central Sudan tribes he had united, headed by his

¹ See p. 350.

² The only concern of this expedition was marauding, so that later it had to be replaced by another, sent along the same route (JOLLAND and MEYNIER). The officers VOULET and CHANOINE were killed by their own men for banditry.

son, FADL-ALLAH, continued the guerilla struggle against the French aggressors for two more years. They were vanquished in 1902. FADL-ALLAH, like his father, was killed while fighting the French.

Actions of the Senussites against the French Aggressors

In the 19th century there existed a Moslem religious sect, the Senussian confraternity¹ headed by SIDI-EL-SENUSSI, in the oases of the Libyan desert between Cyrenaica and the Central Sudan. It had followers all over the Sahara and also in other parts of Africa and Asia (Mesopotamia, Turkey, etc.). The leaders of this confraternity maintained friendly relations with the sultans of Wadai, and in the third quarter of the 19th century all Wadai was under their influence. When Wadai, after RABAH had conquered the country, became the theatre of his struggle with France, the head of the Senussites, SENUSSI II, abstained from the struggle. But after the French had launched their decisive attack upon RABAH, it gradually became evident that RABAH was unable to stand his ground and that the country would inevitably fall under the French yoke. In addition, in 1899 there appeared in Wadai agents of the Turkish sultan, who also was hoping to annex Wadai to his possessions in Tripolitania. Then SENUSSI decided to take action and declared a holy war against the French. After the death of RABAH the Senussites concerted their actions with his son, FADL-ALLAH, and they jointly conducted their war of liberation against the French until 1902.

The Situation in the Region of Lake Chad on the Eve of the 20th Century

At the peak of the war against RABAH the French concluded with Britain two boundary agreements concerning their possessions in the Central Sudan. The treaty of June 1898 definitely fixed the western boundaries between Britain's Nigeria and the French possessions; by the treaty of March 1899 (following Fashoda) Britain acquiesced in the French West African and Equatorial African possessions being connected (through the region of Lake Chad). But not until the final defeat of RABAH was any agreement arrived at in respect of the boundaries between the possessions of Britain, France and Germany in the very region of Lake Chad. The collapse of RABAH's State opened up the prospects for France to take possession of all countries belonging to that State. Britain and Germany therefore felt the time had come for them to act. While France was engaged in liquidating FADL-ALLAH's troops and the remnants of RABAH's army and in carrying on her struggle with the Senussites, in 1900—02 Britain occupied the entire country of Bornu, and Germany laid hands on the region between Lake Chad and the Shari river. This is how, by the end of 1902, the resistance of the peoples of the Central Sudan countries was suppressed and the partition of the Lake Chad region among the three great powers virtually accomplished.

Liberia between 1870 and 1900

From the beginning of the seventies, the Liberian government got into serious financial difficulties. It was compelled to contract a loan from Britain on very dis-

¹ See H. DUVEYRIER, *La confrérie religieuse musulmane de Sidi-el-Senoussi et son extension géographique* (Paris, 1884).

advantageous terms. From that time on, the great powers began to take growing interest in Liberia. In 1875 the Grebo tribes, suffering from oppression by the Liberian government, formed a big tribal alliance and launched a war of liberation. As a consequence of the intervention of the United States, which had sent a warship to help the government of Liberia, the war ended in the defeat of the Grebo.

After the "Reconstruction" in the south of the United States (1877), American Negroes again tried to organize mass emigration to Liberia, but these attempts failed.

From the early eighties onwards, as a result of the growing aggressiveness of the great powers, Liberia was under constant pressure. Both Britain and France cut down portions of Liberian territory in order to add to their adjacent colonies. The country nevertheless preserved its independence, thanks to the rivalry of these two powers and Germany, this latter having a range of trading settlements in Liberia. In 1883 a German vessel was allegedly shipwrecked in front of the Liberian coast, and its crew, after landing there, was offered an "unfriendly welcome" by the Africans. Under this pretence another German warship opened fire at the town of Nana-Kru and, threatening to bombard Monrovia, forced the Liberian government to pay indemnities.

During the eighties and nineties several British and American plans were concocted to obtain concessions in Liberia for the construction of railways, telegraph and telephone networks, for the introduction of plantation farming, etc. But all these plans came to nothing.

In 1893-96 there was another war between the Liberian government and the Grebo tribes. It had been provoked by the government on the pretence of "pacification of the tribes warring among themselves".

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- (In addition to the general works on the history of Portuguese colonization indicated on p. 171 and the work of BROSELARD-FAIDHERBE, on p. 322.)
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WEST AND CENTRAL EQUATORIAL AFRICA

Power Intrigues in Equatorial Africa

The agents of the three biggest European powers in the seventies of the 19th century intensified the exploration of West and Central Equatorial Africa. In 1872–75 the British CAMERON expedition crossed the continent from Zanzibar to Benguela. It was this expedition that brought into Europe news of the riches of the southern Congo Basin. In 1875 STANLEY set out on his second journey. Starting from the east coast he traversed the region of the Great Lakes, reached the Congo River and, descending downstream, came to the Atlantic Ocean.

The open efforts of Britain to seize the equatorial areas of the continent roused the other powers to feverish activity.

France sent to Gabon the naval officer BRAZZA with the task of exploring the hinterland of the Gabonese coast and extending her Equatorial African possessions by relying on Gabon as a base of operations.

In the middle of the seventies France made several attempts to penetrate into Angola by sending there a number of expeditions.¹

Portugal, in her turn, worried by the activity of the great powers, endeavoured to connect her West African possessions (Angola) with her colony in East Africa (Mozambique). In 1877 a sizable Portuguese military expedition was fitted out under SERPA PINTO. Setting out from São Paulo de Loanda, he traversed the centre of South Africa and in 1879 reached the southeastern coast.

Germany, which had not as yet begun setting up colonies, sent expeditions, one after another, into the same regions. It is characteristic that a considerable number of participants of these "scientific" expeditions were recruited from among military officers, like Major WISSMANN and Captain POGGE.

Seizure of the Congo Basin by King Leopold

King LEOPOLD II of Belgium, allegedly encouraged by CAMERON's success, in 1876 founded the "International Association for the Exploration and Civilization of Central Africa". Securing for his adventurous plans the co-operation of the traveller STANLEY, another scoundrel of great caliber and high abilities, LEOPOLD in 1879

¹ See R. P. DUPARQUET, "Voyage dans la Guinée méridionale" (*Bull. Soc. géogr.*, 1876; *Explorateur*, 1876, No. 62); GIRARD DE RIALLE, "L'Afrique australe, le pays d'Angola" (*Revue scient.*, 1876).

converted the Belgian branch of this Association into the *Comité d'Études du Haut Congo*. On behalf of this committee he sent STANLEY to explore the river basin. This "exploration" boiled down mainly to the fact that in the course of four years (1880–84) STANLEY, in the name of King LEOPOLD, concluded with petty tribal chiefs of the Congo Basin about 400 "treaties" on cession of their tribal territories to LEOPOLD. Thus it was that already in 1884 almost all the present-day territory of the Congo became personal property of LEOPOLD II.

Partition of Equatorial Africa

During the same years BRAZZA and other French agents, resorting to similar methods, obtained for France a considerable part of the territory of Gabon and the Middle Congo.

Britain and Germany did not make up their minds until all the territories of West and Equatorial Africa that had not been occupied by Portugal earlier were already seized by France and LEOPOLD. Britain tried to hinder their plans by concluding a treaty with Portugal (1884), ignoring the claims of France and LEOPOLD. This treaty, however, gave rise to sharp protests on the part not only of France and LEOPOLD but also of Germany. For France and Germany the most important of all things was to prevent Britain from taking possession of Central Africa, and for Britain, to impede its seizure by France. The quarrel ended in compromise. The Anglo-Portuguese treaty was cancelled, and at the Berlin Conference of 1884–85, as already mentioned, LEOPOLD obtained universal recognition of his "sovereign" title to the territories he had seized. Those were declared the "Independent State of the Congo", and LEOPOLD concluded with France a special agreement on the division of the equatorial areas. France retained the region she had conquered, Gabon and the Middle Congo region, and the "Congo State" was given a way out to the sea in the form of a narrow strip between Gabon and Angola.

The Power Struggle in Equatorial Africa after the Berlin Conference

The Berlin Conference did not put a stop to the power struggle in Equatorial Africa. LEOPOLD, not contented with the enormous territory he had obtained, was dreaming of expanding it to the north (where he wished to annex part of the Eastern Sudan), to the east (where he was striving to expand his colony right to the shores of the Indian Ocean), and to the south (where he proposed to extend his possessions down to the Zambezi River). To this end he fitted out several expeditions, screening himself behind various excuses. For instance, his "scientific expedition" under the command of the German officer WISSMANN seized and secured for him the present-day Kasai and Baluba provinces. LEOPOLD's plans to conquer the border regions of the Eastern Sudan were abetted, first of all, by the famous expedition which STANLEY conducted into the equatorial province of the Sudan across the Congo "to rescue EMIN PASHA" (1889–90).¹

¹ In order to ascertain the truth about the obscure story of EMIN PASHA being rescued by STANLEY, it is indispensable to read, besides the works of STANLEY (see p. 335) and his followers, also the books written by members of his expedition's rear-guard (BARTTELOT,

The other great powers displayed similar activities at that time.¹ The rivalry for the unoccupied territories of Equatorial Africa went on at full speed.

The provisions the Berlin Conference had laid down for the observance of the principle of free trade were in fact ignored by all powers. All those whose possessions were situated in the "conventional Congo Basin" did as they pleased in their own territory, now admitting merchants of other countries and now prohibiting their admission. All of them, however, came up against great difficulties in subjugating those regions because of the opposition of the indigenous inhabitants, and they suffered an especially strong repulse from the economically and militarily stronger Arab merchants and settlers who at the time had a great influence in almost all countries and regions of the "conventional Congo Basin".

The Brussels Conference of 1889-90

On the pretext of working out the general principles of the "protection of the natives" and of the "fight against the slave trade" in the Congo Basin, the powers signatory to the Berlin Act, in November 1889, met at another conference in Brussels to deal with the problems of the Congo.

At this conference the great powers, pretending to organize the struggle against the slave trade, agreed to start a co-ordinated attack to expel their Arab competitors definitively from the countries of Equatorial Africa and to subjugate and enslave the African peoples. In addition, they came to an agreement on allowing to introduce the system of import duties in the colonies of the Congo Basin, which was tantamount to the abolishment of the provisions agreed upon at the Berlin Conference of 1884-85.

Leopold's Expansion after the Brussels Conference

After the Brussels Conference LEOPOLD became increasingly active. In the southwest of the Congo he seized the Kwanza region, enlarging thereby his possessions at the expense of Portugal; he obtained Portuguese recognition of this conquest in the treaties of 1891 and 1893. In the south he took possession of the highly valuable territory of Katanga (with its rich copper wealth), forestalling the British South Africa Company (the STAIRS expedition, 1892). In the north LEOPOLD II occupied much of the

JAMESON), on the one hand, and the biographical works on EMIN PASHA, on the other:

J. S. JAMESON, *Forschungen und Erlebnisse im "Dunkelsten Afrika": Geschichte der Nachhut der Emin-Pascha-Ersatz-Expedition*. Nach dessen Tode herausg. von Frau J. S. Jameson. Autor. Übers. v. G. Oppert (Hamburg, 1891); E. M. BARTELOT, *Journal et correspondance du major E. M. Barttelot, commandant d'arrière-colonne dans l'expédition Stanley à la recherche et au secours d'Emin Pacha*. Ed. by W. G. Barttelot (Paris, 1891); G. SCHWEINFURTH and F. RATZEL, *Emin-Pascha: Eine Sammlung von Reisebriefen und Berichten Dr. Emin-Pascha's aus den ehemals ägyptischen Äquatorialprovinzen und deren Grenzländern*. Mit Unterstützung v. Dr. R. W. Felkin u. Dr. G. Hartlaub (Leipzig); P. REICHARD, *Dr. Emin Pascha, ein Vorkämpfer der Kultur im Innern Afrikas* (2nd, enl. ed., Leipzig, 1898).

The most noteworthy of the works of STANLEY's followers are the two books below:

J. SCOTT KELTIE, *La délivrance d'Emin d'après des lettres de H. M. Stanley, publiée avec l'autorisation de l'auteur* (Paris, 1890); A. J. WAUTERS, *Stanley au secours d'Emin Pacha* (Paris, 1890).

¹ As for the French campaigns of conquest in Equatorial Africa, see p. 331; as regards the British and German expeditions into East Equatorial Africa, see ch. iv; for the activity of the British South Africa Company, see p. 383 ff.

Bahr el Ghazal province of the Sudan and then, exploiting the Anglo-French and Anglo-German quarrels, came to terms with Britain; the British gave him the entire Bahr el Ghazal province "on perpetual lease" in exchange for a small strip of land connecting Lake Tanganyika with Uganda. And when this bargain gave rise to energetic protests on the part of France and Germany, LEOPOLD II was able to persuade the great powers into compensating him for his relinquishing this region, in the first place, with a big portion of territory on the north at the expense of France (up to the Ubangi and Bomu Rivers) and, in the second place, with sanctioning the deal of his "leasing" a small strip in Bahr el Ghazal (the "Lado enclave") providing the Congo colony with an access to the upper Nile. This was the 1894 treaty with France.

Leopold's Sanguinary Regime

Thus becoming, by the grace of the great powers, sovereign master of an enormous country, LEOPOLD II established there a sanguinary and plundering regime, unprecedented even in the conditions of colonial Africa. He proclaimed all lands property of the "government" or the "crown" but, to tell the truth, changed them into his personal property and began to give concessionaire companies vast districts on long-term lease. He secured the State monopoly of two staple products of the colony, rubber and ivory. The indigenous inhabitants were obliged to deliver to the owners of the lands they lived on (to the companies or the State) a determined quantity of rubber or ivory for a mere trifle or for nothing in exchange, only for the right to breathe the air of that region and gather wild fruits for a living. This was how the entire population of the country was sunk into the state of slavery. For failing to meet their delivery obligations the unfortunate and helpless African "subjects" of LEOPOLD often had their hands or legs cut off, or were even killed.

Revolts of Africans and the Arab War of Liberation in the Congo

The atrocities of LEOPOLD II's agents gave rise to mass resistance on the part of the African population. Right after the introduction of the monopoly system (1891) the Africans started insurrections and wars of liberation. In 1892 LEOPOLD's troops suppressed a wide-spread revolt of the *Manyamwezi* tribe. The chief of this tribe, MSIDI, was summarily shot.

At the same time with their struggle against the insurrections of the African tribes, the conquerors carried on a long war against the Arabs inhabiting the regions between the colony and Lake Tanganyika. LEOPOLD's war slogan was the "fight against the slave trade."

The Arabs of Central Africa were still trading in slaves indeed, but the real cause of this war was LEOPOLD's desire to seize the rich areas held by them. The hypocrisy of the Belgian imperialists and of the British who assisted them in the "struggle against the slave-trading Arabs" is evidenced by the fact that the biggest of the local Arab slave-trading chiefs, TIPPOO TIB, had made his wealth from the slave trade essentially in co-operation with the same colonizers who now declared war on him. During the seventies and eighties, when the intruders still needed the support of the local chiefs for realizing their plans, they did their best to win TIPPOO TIB as an ally, feeling by no means embarrassed by his "profession" as slave merchant. Still a few years before the war against him (1887) STANLEY, acting on behalf of King LEOPOLD,

even appointed this Arab leader to governorship of Stanley Falls with regular allowances paid by the government.

TIPPOO TIB, however, gradually became aware that the "whites" were out to seize the Arab settlements as well, and in 1890 he definitely broke with them. Towards the end of the eighties TIPPOO TIB still wrote to one of the missionaries as follows:

"... Without my help he [STANLEY] could never have gone down the Congo; and no sooner did he reach Europe, than he claimed all my country. Surely your people must be unjust! ... The white man is stronger than I am; they will eat my possessions as I ate those of the pagans, and — ... Some one will eat up yours!"¹

To what extent the fight with the Arab slave dealers served the interests of "civilization" is shown by another characteristic fact. The colonizers, who did not dispose of European soldiers in the colony, recruited their troops, by force and bribery, from among the misled or subjugated African tribes. Among these tribes there were even some who still practised cannibalism. A member of the military expedition against the slave traders, the British officer HINDE², in his book dealing with this campaign wrote that the Belgian officers in command of this struggle for "civilization" instigated cannibalism among their soldiers.

The Congo tribes that in the beginning supported the colonizers' struggle against the Arabs came to understand little by little that the victory of the conquerors would mean to them greater peril than the Arab slave trade, and went over to the side of the Arabs one after the other. And when the chief of the Manyema tribe allied to the Belgians, GONGO LUTETE, was executed by the Belgians for charges of secret ties with the Arabs, the troops recruited from among the African tribes broke out into mutiny and slew their white officers. But the rebellion was crushed and the war ended in the defeat of the Arabs. LEOPOLD occupied the entire territory as far as Lake Tanganyika. To preserve the occupied territory, he had to keep there strong military detachments, which consisted of African soldiers. The latter rebelled again in 1897, simultaneously with the revolt of several tribes, and the war of the colonial administration with the insurgents did not stop until 1900.

The First Protests against Leopold's Regime

Already in the early nineties the brutal insults of LEOPOLD's military and civilian officers gave rise to constant, though faint-hearted, protests of certain missionaries. These protests were of no avail until 1895. In that year the events took a turn. An officer of LEOPOLD's ordered the Englishman STOKES to be hanged, for being suspected of helping the African tribes opposed to the Leopoldian regime. This case provoked a storm of indignation not only among the British and other missionaries in the Congo, but also in Great Britain. Under the pressure of general indignation LEOPOLD was compelled to pretend that he heeded the protests raised on account of the atrocities and in 1896 set up the "Committee for the Protection of the Natives." The committee was made up exclusively of missionaries. As soon as the committee began its enquiry, LEOPOLD and his officials did everything possible to divert its attention from the atrocities it was meant to investigate in the first place. Official instructions to the committee were "to offer suggestions for better methods of administration in order to stop the slave trade, to prohibit and restrict more effectively

the trade in liquors, and to stamp out gradually such barbaric customs as cannibalism, human sacrifices and poison trials." There was in the instructions, however, not a word about the exposure of the atrocities of the Belgian authorities. The committee members — missionaries who lived in Léopoldville and its environs almost all the time — were in fact not in a position to enquire into the real state of affairs in remoter regions, where the most terrible brutalities were committed. They were not entitled to conduct investigation, mete out punishment, or employ any means of coercion against military and civilian officers of the Leopoldian apparatus. The only function of the committee was to submit its suggestions and reports to the government. It is obvious that, however commendable the objective intentions of certain missionaries were, the activity of this committee could not, and did not, have any practical consequences.

French Expansion after the Berlin Conference

After the Berlin Conference the French imperialists also buckled down to build up their own "Equatorial African empire." Their activity followed two directions. In 1886 they started the so-called "fourth mission of BRAZZA". Actually, it consisted of a series of expeditions under the one-man command of BRAZZA (expeditions of BALLAY, DOLISIE, ROUVIER and others), whose task was to extend the already occupied French possessions, wherever possible, by means of "agreements" or, if need be, by force. At the same time, France was in constant negotiations with other powers to obtain recognition of her new seizures. In 1888 France almost completely occupied what were to become her colonies of Gabon and the Middle Congo, and started campaigns beyond their boundaries, in the region of the Ubangi and Shari Rivers. By that time France secured three new agreements with other powers (with Germany in December 1885, with Portugal in May 1886, and with the Congo in April 1887). On the basis of these agreements Gabon and the Middle Congo in 1888 were united and named the "French Congo." BRAZZA was appointed governor-general. In the course of the following few years (1889—92) further expeditions (CRAMPÉL, 1888; CHALLAYE, 1889; DYBOWSKI, 1890 *et seq.*; FOURNEAU, 1891; PAUMEYRAC and GUIRAL, 1892) pushed the territory of French occupation to the north, seizing also the region between the Ubangi and the Shari, so that the French possessions stretched as far as the Lake Chad region, where (as mentioned above¹) the rivalling powers had waged the most embittered struggles. France succeeded in obtaining recognition of her new conquests from Germany in 1892 and from Britain and LEOPOLD in 1894.

The regime established by the "democratic" French Republic in its Equatorial African possessions differed little, if any, from the regime of the butcher LEOPOLD. The same ruthless methods of rude violence and compulsion were applied to the local population. In 1897, after BRAZZA left his post as governor-general, the situation still worsened, and in 1899 the "concessionaire system" of the Leopoldian type was officially introduced in the colony. By virtue of the decree of March 28, 1899, all lands and forests that "were vacant or had no proprietor" were declared property of the French State, which distributed them among 40 big concessionaire companies. The concessionaires were granted the exclusive right to exploit their estates and also

¹ A. J. SWANN, *Fighting the Slave Hunters in Central Africa* (London, 1910), pp. 174—175.
² S. L. HINDE, *The Fall of the Congo Arabs* (London, 1897).

¹ See p. 317 ff.

to compel the indigenous population to deliver their produce without compensation or for a mere trifle. "The whole of French Congo, except two or three old-established towns on the coast, was divided up into concessions, varying from 20 square miles in extent to 54,000 square miles. The villages and plantations actually occupied by the natives at the time were recognized as native property, but this recognition did not necessarily confer on the natives the right to trade with whom they pleased."¹

Towards the close of the 19th century the French imperialists, inspired by the example of LEOPOLD (who had a railway line constructed from Léopoldville to Matadi), also planned the construction of railways. They proposed to build a long line from Libreville to the Sanga River. To make preparations for the construction, a special expedition was sent out (FOURNEAU—FONDERE) which in two years completed the preliminary survey over a territory of 3,000 square kilometres. But these plans came to nothing.²

Institution of the Secret Slave Trade in the Portuguese and Spanish Colonies

The suppression of slavery (1878) deprived the Portuguese colonies in Equatorial Africa of the very foundation of their plundering prosperity. The Portuguese colonizers had to seek new methods of pumping out the natural resources of those countries. They took steps to establish their own colonial economy: They completed the formerly undertaken construction of a canal in Angola (between Loanda and the Kwanza River); they set up plantations (especially cocoa) in Angola, but mainly on the São Tomé and Príncipe Islands, etc. But plantation farming needed hands. To secure them, the Portuguese and Spanish colonizers invented a new, secret form of the slave trade: under the guise of "apprenticeships" they began to import thousands of Africans, recruited through corrupted tribal chiefs, and settled them on Fernando Po, São Tomé and Príncipe Islands and on plantations in Angola. According to the famous British colonizer and expert on Africa, JOHNSTON, these "apprentices" were "regularly bought and sold" and, "once landed in São Tomé . . . never, or hardly ever, obtained their liberty or received regular pay for their work."³

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¹ See H. H. JOHNSTON, *A History of the Colonization of Africa by Alien Races* (London, 1913), p. 231.

² The railway line was built later on, after the First World War, but in a quite different place and in considerably more modest proportions (between Brazzaville and the ocean coast).

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

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MANOEUVRES OF EUROPEAN POWERS IN EAST AFRICA BETWEEN 1870 AND 1884

During the seventies Britain, France and Germany were vigorously preparing for the conquest of East Africa. They sent out their agents — travellers, scientific explorers and missionaries — who penetrated into unexplored territories of East Equatorial Africa: the region of the great East African lakes (Victoria, Albert, Edward, Kivu), the central plateau of East Africa (Unyamwezi), etc. Wherever they found more or less strong indigenous States or tribal alliances, they did their best to subject their rulers to their own influence.

At that time there lived in East Africa two particularly outstanding rulers — the *kabaka* ("king") of Uganda, MUTESA, and the chief of the Wanyamwezi tribes, MIRAMBO. They were both called on by British, French, German and Portuguese agents who came in the guise of peaceful travellers or missionaries, and offered every one of them the "friendship" and "protection" of his government, which was said to be "the most powerful of all European governments."

MUTESA and MIRAMBO, however, looked upon every European with suspicion. Both were aware of the peril of foreign conquest menacing their countries. But they took a very prudent attitude. While maintaining peaceful contacts with the aliens, they prepared their peoples for the impending defensive struggle. To this end they tried to rally under their authority, as firmly as possible, the peoples and tribes they could influence, and supplied them with weapons.

In the meantime Britain continued her intrigues at Zanzibar. Breaking down the resistance of the sultan by threatening with bombardment, the British agents induced him to sign several agreements with them. In 1881 they even compelled the sultan to appoint Englishmen to the most important government posts. Thereby securing themselves freedom of action, they began sending expeditions to reconnoitre the hinterland of the sultan's possessions on the mainland. Thus, for instance, the British agent HARRY JOHNSTON in 1884 "explored" the Kilimanjaro region and signed with local chiefs several agreements on British protectorate.

Uganda from 1870 to 1884

In the sixties, after the Arabs, Europeans also made their appearance in Uganda. The first report on the country was sent to Europe by the British traveller SPEKE in 1863.

Taught by bitter experience, MUTESA treated the Europeans with suspicion. But



32. Mutesa, king of Uganda (see p. 337)

his relations with the Arabs had taught him to behave diplomatically. When meeting the first Europeans, he was as polite and amicable as towards the Arabs.

SPEKE was followed in Uganda by a series of other European travellers—GRANT, BAKER and others — and even STANLEY appeared there during his journey across the continent in 1875. He at once realized the high importance of Uganda. Not only did he realize the exceptional riches of the country (the fertility of its soil, the luxuriance of all kinds of fruits and field crops, and its relatively developed agriculture), but he at once found out that the social system of the country made it especially seductive to European capitalists. In other regions of East Africa the Europeans had to do with small tribes, and after occupying them they had another difficulty to overcome — how to compel those “semi-savage” tribes to do productive work for the aliens.

In Uganda, on the other hand, in contrast to all other countries, there was an accomplished State organization with an accomplished system of peasant farming exploited by a feudal upper class. All that had to be done was to make, in one way or other, this feudal upper class serve the foreign intruders, and then European capital would reap the lion's share of the fruit of the labour of millions of Uganda peasants.

Aware of this, STANLEY took particular interest in Uganda. He conceived great plans regarding this country. But, being on his way to the Congo, he had to put aside these plans for a time. Nevertheless, with a view to preparing the ground for the future “business”, he decided to settle a few missionaries in Uganda. To persuade King MUTESA was not difficult. The king took STANLEY's “advice” and declared his readiness to receive missionaries.

No sooner had STANLEY terminated his journey than his “advice” was executed. The first British missionaries appeared in Uganda in 1877.

Faithful to his tactics, MUTESA was hospitable to them and did not hamper their activities. He attentively listened to what they told him about religion, but he neither consented nor objected to anything.

Encouraged by the success of Anglican missionaries in Uganda, France also decided to take action, and French Roman Catholic missionaries made their appearance in Uganda soon afterwards. MUTESA willingly received the French “White Fathers” as well, and even listened to their sermons. What is more, he organized in his palace a dispute about religious matters for the missionaries of both factions and Moslem priests. And he was gratified to hear every preacher painstakingly argue that the others were teaching untruth. And when the dispute was over, MUTESA said he could not decide which one of them was right and he was thus not in a position to adopt any one of the three religions.

He gave even more attention to what the servants of different gods told him in private, readily unmasking not only the religious ideas of their adversaries, but the rapacious intentions of the merchants and governments backing the missionaries of the other two factions.

Under the cover of peacefulness, friendliness and hospitality, King MUTESA was quietly and purposefully preparing for the forthcoming armed struggle against all these foes. He listened to the preaches and personal agitation of the priests of all three factions, and meanwhile he was busy purchasing weapons from the merchants of all three nations.

In October 1884 King MUTESA died.

MIRAMBO came of the Wanyamwezi tribe, one of the biggest and strongest of the Eastern Bantu tribes. He was the son of a petty village headman. Early in his life he witnessed, and participated in, the great events that took place in the life of the East African tribes in the middle of the 19th century. In perpetual struggle with other tribes and detachments of Arab merchants, he became a fine soldier and came to understand that unless the intertribal struggle ceased, they all would soon fall victim to the Arab invasion. And he began to unite the East African tribes for the fight against the Arabs.

At first he set up small military units from among his Wanyamwezi tribesmen. Then he added to his troops warriors from other tribes, too. With these troops of his he started an organized struggle against the Arab traders, their caravans and expeditions. In attacking the Arab caravans, he took from them, first of all, arms and ammunition.

The Arabs, and after them Europeans, too, called this banditry. But this did not disturb MIRAMBO at all. What mattered to him was to get arms.

Upon his father's death he became the village headman. And soon afterwards villages and tribes began rallying to him one after another. He called upon all tribes to unite. They joined him of their own accord. The Arabs, and after them Europeans declared MIRAMBO to be a despotic conqueror, tormentor of the East African tribes, etc. They likened him to CHAKA and UMSILIKAZI, called him a "bandit" and named him either "African Napoleon" or "African Frederick the Great". In fact, he was neither bandit nor conqueror, but the organizer of a defensive war.

Not only did he not take away the land of the subjugated tribes, but he himself gave them new land, and in return demanded only one thing: participation in the struggle against the common enemy for the common cause.

Here is what, for instance, the German officer WISSMANN, who had visited MIRAMBO in 1883, wrote about him:

"One of the Zulu tribes living near Lake Nyasa, the Watuta tribe, was driven by a powerful chief out of its residence and was compelled to withdraw northward. When traversing the Urori and Ukonongo countries, these warlike Zulus defeated everybody in their way and reached the frontier of MIRAMBO's country. This latter at once set out to meet the aliens with great armed forces, compelled them to make peace, and assigned them a territory northwest of his own residence on the sole condition that in the event of war they would have to fight on his side."¹

Such tricks made it possible for MIRAMBO to create a big tribal federation under his own rule and to earn respect and affection from the tribes he ruled. He gradually expanded the territory of his "State" and then, thanks to his wise strategy, inflicted a decisive defeat on the Arabs and occupied even their main settlement in East Africa, Tabora, in spite of his army almost entirely lacking firearms.

Here is what the same German officer, WISSMANN, wrote about this excellent man and his deeds:

"After plundering several Arab caravans and seizing much ammunition in this way, he continued his attacks on an ever increasing scale and set to build a strong base in today's Urambo. He shortly vanquished and ousted the chiefs who were in tow with the Arabs, and exacted tribute from their successors. His empire was soon to extend over the entire western and northern part of Graganza. He often went as

¹ H. WISSMANN, *Unter deutscher Flagge quer durch Afrika* (Berlin, 1889), p. 259.

far as Ukerewe on the north, the Waha country on the west, while on the south his influence reached about as far as 6° S. Only Tabora, this strongest settlement of the Arabs allied with the Unyanyembe chiefs, and the Wataturu tribe obstructed his way on the east.

"The fame of MIRAMBO's victories gradually made him appear in the eyes of all as the most dreadful man, while he was extremely popular among his own tribesmen. MIRAMBO never sleeps, he can fly, he is invulnerable — such and similar abilities were ascribed to him. It is said that, despite his mild nature, he was able to kindle with a few words a flaming warlike spirit in his soldiers. One day he fought here, the next morning he already appeared with his troops accustomed to victories at a distance of six days' walk away, after traversing fabulous distances at a run without stopping in one day and night. He was present everywhere . . .

"... In the year when STANLEY in search of LIVINGSTONE was in Unyanyembe, MIRAMBO dealt the Arabs of Tabora a severe blow, defeated them utterly, pillaged their city and burnt down everything. It is said that his booty consisted of 200 elephant tusks. Thereupon steps were taken to prevent MIRAMBO from purchasing too much gun-powder, and at the time I was there MIRAMBO, on account of the shortage of powder, was piling up large stocks of ammunition with the energy so characteristic of him. He kept a host of people occupied by making spears, bows and arrows in spacious yards. In one place about twenty men were engaged in planishing arrow shafts, in another blacksmiths were moulding arrow and spear heads out of iron, others were whetting them, again others put feathers on the shafts, a special group were busy twisting bowstrings, etc.

"MIRAMBO took me into one of his houses built in the Arab style — it was his arsenal. A spacious room was crammed full with thousands of spears and bows, a whole wall was covered with bundles of fine arrows. 'Look, this is my gun-powder', he said. 'I am not yet disarmed'. And to my question as to whom this preparation was directed against, he answered with a phrase that was an almost literal Swahili translation of the famous saying: 'If you wish for peace, prepare war'.¹

It was by no mere chance that MIRAMBO was boasting to WISSMANN about his preparedness for war. It is beyond doubt that MIRAMBO clearly saw the danger menacing his country and people on the part of the Europeans. He understood that the European peril was more formidable than the Arab danger, and he prepared for the fight against it. He united the country and defeated the Arabs to rid his country of their assaults. All this, however, was to him only preparation for the great, decisive struggle against the European conquerors, to save the independence of the peoples of East Africa. But he also realized the technical superiority of the Europeans, and therefore he resorted to a wise tactics: he would not start fighting, he would maintain, as long as possible without losing his independence, peaceful relations with the Europeans in order to be able to gather as much force as possible and to pile up as many weapons as possible for the event of the great, decisive struggle.

But he was not destined to fight it out. He died at the time when the Europeans had just begun their attack in 1886.

German Conquests (1884—85)

The Germans appeared in East Africa at the end of 1884. A number of German adventurers, with CARL PETERS at their head, in March 1884 founded in Germany

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 258—60.

the German Colonization Society. This society decided to establish a large German colony in the interior of Africa, and it appealed to BISMARCK for this purpose. The chancellor refused to support the undertaking, declaring that "the Empire cannot have anything in common with such an adventure". When the managers of the society repeated their request to him, presenting their plans for acquiring a colony in East Africa, BISMARCK replied that "they might act at their own risk." PETERS and his adherents set out for East Africa under false names and, to keep the real aims of their expedition secret from the British, pretended to be members of a scientific expedition that was said to be already in the Congo. In the course of December 1884 they concluded with several tribal chiefs twelve treaties on recognition of the German protectorate, persuading the chiefs into signing the treaties by presenting them with cheap cloths and treating them to tobacco and liquor.¹

It was thanks to such tricks that PETERS and his gang succeeded in concluding twelve treaties. Other German agents used the same methods to compel the sultan of Witu, near the coast, to accept the "protectorate" of Germany.

On the strength of these fraudulent treaties the German East Africa Company, founded by PETERS in 1885, received an imperial patent from the German government, and Germany officially proclaimed the countries "acquired" by PETERS her possessions. The sultan of Zanzibar protested. The German government of the day sent a warship to Zanzibar. Under the threat of force it compelled the sultan to recognize the German protectorate over those inland regions of East Africa acquired by PETERS and to grant Germany the right to use the port of Dar es Salaam.

Partition of East Africa Between Britain and Germany.

The Struggle of Mwanga in Uganda (1886—90)

The actions of Germany roused also Britain to activity. In 1886 the British East Africa Company was formed, and in October of the same year an agreement was entered into between Britain and Germany. In this agreement both powers mutually recognized the conquests they had completed, and they drew a precise line to separate the British and German spheres of influence from each other. This line ran from the coast to Lake Victoria. South of the line lay the sphere of influence of Germany, north of it, that of Britain. The agreement confirmed, however, the Germans in the possession of the sultanate of Witu and did not concern Uganda and other territories north of Lake Victoria.

Thereafter both powers approached the sultan of Zanzibar in order to obtain from him some appropriate coastal land adjoining their new inland colonies. First Britain (May 24, 1887), and later also Germany (July 30, 1887), managed to persuade the sultan into granting them lease of a coastal strip between their respective colonies and the ocean.

The only country to be decided upon was still Uganda, which already in MUTESA's lifetime had been overrun by British (Protestant) and French (Roman Catholic) missionaries and Arab (Moslem) priests and merchants. Intriguing one against another, the missionaries prepared the ground for the conquest of the country by the European powers, while the Arabs exported ivory and slaves from the country. All these three groups conducted religious propaganda and gained many followers among the Uganda population.

¹ See what PETERS himself wrote about the affair in his work *Die Gründung von Deutsch-Ostafrika* (Berlin, 1906).

After MUTESA's death (1884) his son and successor, MWANGA, turned on all foreigners. He first expelled the British and French missionaries, and then directed his attack against the Arabs. These, however, offered armed resistance. The majority of the people rallied to MWANGA and adopted an equally hostile attitude to all three religious factions. But MWANGA's soldiers did not possess modern weapons; MWANGA suffered defeat and had to flee. Power was seized by a puppet of the Arabs, a brother of MWANGA's. Hiding in an islet of Lake Victoria, MWANGA entered into contact with the expelled missionaries, made peace with them, defeated his rival with their help, and returned to power. With him returned, however, also the British and French missionaries, who resumed their intrigues and made renewed attempts to exercise exclusive influence over MWANGA.

At that time (1890) there appeared in Uganda the German PETERS, who under the pretext of "rescuing EMIN PASHA" conducted an expedition into those regions to seize for Germany the East African territories unoccupied as yet by Britain. Making use of MWANGA's unchanged hostility towards both British and French, PETERS contrived to conclude with him a treaty of "friendship with the German Emperor." On the basis of this treaty PETERS hoped to declare the country a German protectorate, while MWANGA expected thereby to keep his country safe from British and French pretensions.

But both of them were out in their calculations. PETERS was still on his way back from his mission when Britain and Germany definitely agreed upon the partition of all East Africa, with Uganda being left to Britain. By this "Helgoland Agreement," signed by Britain and Germany on July 1, 1890, Germany recognized as British possessions all the territory of East Africa lying north of the line drawn in 1886. These possessions included both Uganda and various less sizable districts formerly occupied by German agents (the sultanate of Witu among them). Germany recognized also Britain's protectorate over the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. Britain in turn recognized as German possession all the territory of East Africa south of the dividing line down to the Portuguese possessions and the frontier of the Congo colony. Included in these possessions were a coastal strip and the island of Mafia which were to pass into the hands of Germany against some compensation to be paid to the sultan of Zanzibar. In addition, some frontier rectifications in favour of Germany were made in West and Southwest Africa, and Germany received Helgoland Island in the North Sea.

COMPLETION OF THE CONQUEST OF EAST AFRICA AND THE LIBERATION STRUGGLES OF ITS PEOPLES (1890—1900)

The Anglo-German agreement did not yet mean completion of the conquest of East Africa. What remained to be accomplished was the actual occupation of the territories the great powers had divided up among themselves on paper. Britain and Germany, on the basis of what had been settled between them, considered themselves to be sovereign masters of those territories, but it was soon to appear that they were not.

As a consequence of the Anglo-German partition of East Africa, this territory was divided up into four parts, four colonial entities, one of which belonged to Germany (German East Africa), the other three being under British rule (the territory of the British East Africa Company, Uganda and Zanzibar).

Diplomats and military leaders of British and German imperialism thought that, after stripping the sultan of Zanzibar of power over East Africa and concluding with

him agreements, they had become incontestable owners of his former possessions. But there was still a third party who had a say in the matter concerning the fate of East Africa. And nobody had ever asked the opinion of this third party, the indigenous peoples of East Africa. They were, however, less submissive than the sultan of Zanzibar.

After the British and German rule in East Africa had been officially proclaimed and the agreements between the British and German imperialists and with the sultan of Zanzibar concluded, there followed a period of incessant defensive struggles of the East African peoples against the usurpers.

German East Africa

The most embittered struggle was fought in German East Africa, owing to the monstrous atrocities the German colonizers committed upon the African peoples. Until they acquired African colonies, the German imperialists had to refrain themselves to some extent on African soil. They had to take into account that their actions might incite world public opinion against them and imperil their chances of obtaining colonies, thereby letting Britain have an argument to use against the creation of a German colonial empire. Therefore the German travellers — even such unscrupulous adventurers as, for instance, PETERS — were seeking to observe at least some semblance of “decency.” After 1885, however, once established in their “own” colonies, they behaved themselves as they pleased and acted without any scruples. And act they did. For instance, the same PETERS who in 1884, as already mentioned, had practically sneaked into East Africa and treated the local “sultan” to liquor and tobacco in order to make him disposed to sign an agreement “of his own accord” — the same PETERS in 1889, travelling across the regions that had by that time been recognized as German possessions, openly and without constraint revealed his brutality towards the African peoples. In one of his books he gives an account of how he exterminated the *Wagogo* tribe, which at first put up resistance to the German intrusion but later, having convinced themselves that the Germans were much stronger, declared their willingness to surrender. PETERS then refused to negotiate and gave orders to kill the tribesmen who had come to him in peace and to burn down their village. In his book he even published a picture of his men setting fire to the *Wagogo* village.¹

The peoples of the territories occupied by the German butchers responded to such insults with insurrections.

Five days after the official proclamation of the seizure of German East Africa by the Germans, on August 26, 1888, several Bantu tribes (the *Wayao*, etc.) rose up in arms. United under the command of the Arab chief, BUSHIRI, Bantus and Arabs purged almost the entire country of the German intruders within a month. The German government sent against the rebels one of its most experienced colonial agents, WISSMANN, with 60 officers, 200 sailors and 1,000 Sudanese soldiers (“borrowed” from the British government), and launched a war of pacification. It took, however, more than one year before they could defeat the main forces of the insurgents, and then they captured and executed Chief BUSHIRI. The war ended late in 1889, but the insurgents continued the guerilla war for six months, until the summer of 1890.

¹ See CARL PETERS, *Die deutsche Emin-Pascha-Expedition* (Munich—Leipzig, 1891), p. 503. Such brutal actions committed against the unarmed African tribes distinguished later on Captain DOMINIK in the Cameroons, General TROTHA in Southwest Africa, and many others.

No sooner had a year gone by than another war of liberation, that of the *Wahehe* tribes, flared up in the south of the country.

The *Wahehe* tribal alliance, headed by Chief MUJUGUMBA (or MUJINGA), grew especially strong in the sixties and seventies and defeated the neighbouring *Wabena* and *Wassangu* tribes, as well as the *Wangoni*, one after the other. After the death of this chief (1878), his son, KWAWA MUHINJA, continued his father's conquests and by the end of the eighties subjugated a considerable part of the tribes living in the just established German colony. The German conquerors, who saw in the *Wahehe* the principal threat to their domination over East Africa, in 1891 sent a military expedition against them, but at the battle of Rugaro (August 17, 1891) the German forces were cut to pieces by the *Wahehe* troops who acted in alliance with the *Angoni* and the *Wajagga*. There followed a three-year war which in 1894 ended in the defeat of the *Wahehe* and the demolition of their capital city, Iringa, but the guerilla war under the command of the sultan of the *Wahehe* lasted for another four years, and not until after KWAWA's death (1898) were the Germans able, by sowing the seeds of discord among the *Wahehe* tribal chiefs, to smash up the *Wahehe* to small groups and thus compel them to submit to the colonial regime.

British East Africa Protectorate

The peoples of the British East Africa Protectorate¹ resisted in two different ways: On the part of the Arab coastal tribes the British met with a resistance organized on a large scale; a number of tribes of the inland regions, on the other hand, displayed less significant but stubborn guerilla activity.

After the Anglo-German agreement of 1890 had definitely left the sultanate of *Witu* to the British, the latter had to open fairly large-scale military operations on both land and sea to occupy the country whose people led by the sultan rose with arms in hand for the defence of their independence.

Another war of liberation against the British intruders was waged in 1895—96 by the sultan of Mombasa, SIDI MUBARAK, representative of the *Mazrui* clan, who rallied under his banner not only the Arab tribes but also several indigenous tribes of the coastal regions. This war was still more ferocious, and lasted longer, than the previous one.

From among the tribes of the inland regions the most obstinate resistance came from the *Kikuyu* on the west and the *Somali* tribes in the southeast of the colony. The *Kikuyu* for many years prevented the British from setting up a stable colonial administration in the country, and the *Somalis* could not at all put up with British occupation and they systematically massacred the British officials sent into their region. Twice (1898 and 1901) the British government attempted to subjugate them, but the punitive expeditions brought no success, and after a crushing defeat of the second expedition the British gave up their attempts to take possession of the region of the *Somali* tribes. Nominally the region continued to form part of the British colony, but in fact the *Somali* tribes living there preserved their independence.

¹ Until 1894 the territory of Kenya was in the possession of the British East Africa Company. In 1894—95 the company was wound up after receiving a compensation of £450,000. Then the colony was taken over by the government and was named the British East Africa Protectorate.

Uganda

Immediately after her settlement with Germany Britain hurried to occupy Uganda. The British government was afraid lest the peoples of Uganda led by their chiefs hostile to the European conquerors, MWANGA in Uganda and KABAREGA in Bunyoro, should join the Mahdist revolt in the Sudan. At first Uganda was given to the British East Africa Company. An agent of the company, LUGARD, who had been sent out with British troops consisting mainly of Indians, "settled" the struggle of the three religious groups by treating summarily the Moslems and Catholics, that is, the followers of the Arabs and the French. After the company's charter had been annulled (1894), the colony passed into the hands of the British government, which declared it a British "protectorate." Britain thought her rule in the country was definitely consolidated, when the veritable revolt broke out. The question was not of religious frictions between followers of the different missionaries, but of a general popular uprising against the foreign yoke.

The revolt was started by MWANGA. The British troops inflicted on him a serious defeat, but the rising not only did not stop but gained even the British troops which in part consisted of Africans transported to Uganda from the Sudan.

In close contact with MWANGA and the Sudanese troops, KABAREGA also rose in arms. The military operations to crush these revolts lasted about five years. The country was finally subdued in 1899, after both MWANGA and KABAREGA had been captured and deported (KABAREGA to Kismayu, and MWANGA to the Seychelles where he died in 1903).

The "special commission" sent under HARRY JOHNSTON to Uganda in 1899 considerably expanded the Uganda Protectorate by seizing several territories north and south of Buganda and Bunyoro (northward as far as Gondokoro, 5°N. and Lake Rudolf, and the indigenous Ankole country on the south). In Buganda proper JOHNSTON placed MWANGA's son, DAUDI CHUA, upon the throne, appointing beside him his own men as "regents." JOHNSTON in March 1900 concluded with these "regents" the so-called "Uganda Agreement" which definitely established Britain's rule over Uganda.

Zanzibar

By the year 1890 the sultan of Zanzibar had been deprived of all of his East African possessions, except for the two islands, Zanzibar and Pemba, which had been left to him to rule under British control.

In 1896 the throne of the sultan was occupied by SEYID HALED, a man reputed for his hostility towards the British usurpers. Britain demanded his resignation and threatened with bombardment. But SEYID HALED refused to leave and put up armed resistance. The British set their artillery into action (firing 4,250 shells within 50 minutes) and caused much devastation to the island. The sultan fled to the Germans to Dar es Salaam; the British placed on the throne their own puppet from among the sultan's relatives.



33-44.
Atrocities committed in
East Africa
by the German
traveller Peters
(see pp. 339-340)



35a. The two palaces of the sultan of Zanzibar on August 26, at 9a. m. . .



35b. . . and what they looked like 50 minutes later (see p. 344)

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¹ These works by German authors, ardent hangers-on of German imperialism, are but a heap of imperialist colonial propaganda. Yet these representatives of German imperialism, owing to their innate spirit of insolent bragging, unconsciously give a rich material revealing the German methods of colonization. German officers and travellers in their accounts of the risings provide many factual data on these events.

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CHAPTER V

THE EASTERN SUDAN

Anglo-Egyptian Oppression in the Sudan

In the seventies Britain, under the pretext of friendly assistance to the Egyptian government, actually occupied the Eastern Sudan. Trying, as they said, to put Egyptian administration in good order and to stop the slave trade, the British made the Egyptian government step up the exploitation of the popular masses of the Eastern Sudan. This, in turn, led to growing indignation against the foreign overlords. The British tried to break down the opposition of the Eastern-Sudan tribes by making the best they could of intertribal quarrels and by bribing the various chiefs.

But oppression by the Egyptians was chafing not only the popular masses. As already mentioned in another place, it gave rise to discontent also on the part of wealthy Sudanese merchants like ZIBER RAHAMNA. These rose in defence of their trade interests, but the popular masses they had mobilized soon changed the struggle of merchants into one of the people against the foreign oppressors. And the curious thing happened that the slave-trading exploiters came to be leaders of the liberation struggle of large masses of the people.

When British influence grew stronger in Egypt, and also in the Sudan, ZIBER realized that British penetration into the Sudan meant not only enslavement for millions of people but also the end of the well-being of the local rich like him. He decided to start fighting, though not openly, against both Egyptians and British.

The Egyptian government, feeling uneasy about ZIBER's ascendancy, sent against him troops under the command of BELLALI, a Sudanese chief in Egyptian pay. ZIBER beat BELLALI's troops, and BELLALI was killed. But ZIBER did not propose to wage an open fight against Egypt. Instead, he sent an explanation to Egypt, proving that the clash had taken place through no fault of his, and expressed his regret.

The Egyptian government had, for the time being, to renounce the fight against ZIBER and, in order to protect itself from hostile actions on his part, appointed him Egyptian governor of the Bahr el Ghazal province.

ZIBER accepted this office. And what is more, he made to the Egyptian government the offer to occupy Darfur "for Egypt". The government willingly agreed, the more so because ZIBER promised to achieve the feat without Egyptian help.

And, indeed, ZIBER launched a campaign against Darfur and occupied it in a short time. Nominally, Darfur became a province of Egypt, and ZIBER was appointed to govern the country. In fact, ZIBER became sovereign ruler in this country too.

But the Egyptian government, which by that time was an obedient tool in the hands of the British, could not remain inactive at the sight of ZIBER's growing power.

In 1874 he was invited to go to Cairo "to have talks with the Egyptian government", and he was detained there. He lived at liberty in Cairo, but actually he was considered prisoner.

After this military detachments were sent from Egypt to ZIBER's province one after another. The Egyptian government began to dispose of Bahr el Ghazal and Darfur as of its own provinces, while Britain gradually placed her agents all over the Sudan as "governors" in the service of the Egyptian government (BAKER, GORDON, EMIN, SLATIN, etc.).

The suffering of the peoples of the Sudan continued under the yoke of Egyptian authorities and slave dealers. The British governors did not at all relieve the material conditions of the popular masses and, on top of this, endeavoured to strip the Eastern Sudan peoples of the last piece of their independence. This prompted several local riots against the Anglo-Egyptian oppressors, often even under the leadership of slave-trading chiefs.

The most significant among these movements were the revolt in Bahr el Ghazal under SOLIMAN ZIEBER, and that in Darfur under Sultan HARUN.

The Revolt of Soliman Ziber

Sent in 1877 into the Sudan in his capacity of vicegerent of the khedive of Egypt, the British General GORDON ("GORDON PASHA") at first apparently came to terms with ZIBER's son, SOLIMAN, whom he appointed governor of the Bahr el Ghazal province, on the understanding that he recognized the supreme rule of Egypt. But it became clear before that GORDON's agreement with SOLIMAN had been but a trick to hold the latter back from fighting until the Egyptians had sufficient forces there to destroy him. Egyptian agents pitted the tribes against SOLIMAN and his troops, and these tribes, with the assistance of Egyptian commanders, organized attacks upon the troops and the population of SOLIMAN's "province". SOLIMAN had to make war, which resulted in the defeat of all the local sheikhs and tribal chiefs in the pay of the Egyptian authorities.

Then the Egyptian government declared SOLIMAN "rebel" and sent its troops against him.

The war with the Egyptian troops (which later on the British and Egyptians labelled as an "army revolt", but which in fact was a defensive war of liberation) lasted two years. SOLIMAN's troops led by himself and his commander-in-chief, RABAH,¹ firmly held their ground, but by the summer of 1879 they became very short of ammunition and dwindled so much that they were not in a position to continue fighting.

Then the Egyptian government sent into the Sudan another army under the Italian officer GESSI who, however, did not propose to open military operations. He called on a local rich merchant corrupted by the Egyptians, ISMAIN, who had once been a confidant of ZIBER. GESSI sent this man to the "rebel" SOLIMAN to invite him to lay down arms and surrender.

In his message, GESSI promised total amnesty to all "insurgents", including SOLIMAN and his generals. On the strength of this promise, SOLIMAN and eight of his generals decided to surrender and laid down their arms before GESSI. A few days after the surrender (July 15, 1879), however, despite the definite promise of amnesty, SOLIMAN and his generals were treacherously assassinated by the order of GESSI.

¹ See p. 318.

The Harun Revolt

In about the same July days of 1879 ended another uprising against the Anglo-Egyptian usurpers of the Sudan, that of the Darfurian tribes headed by Sultan HARUN, nephew of the former sultan of Darfur, IBRAHIM, who had been killed in battle against ZIBER in 1874. (HARUN's father, SEF-ED-DIN, was also killed while fighting ZIBER in 1875). The insurgents held out heroically in the struggle against the superior force of the Egyptians for several years. At first they succeeded in purging much of the country from the Egyptians. Later on they sustained defeat after defeat from the overwhelming force of the Egyptians, but were not once defeated absolutely. Whenever defeated, they could hide from the enemy and gather new strength.

The end of HARUN's revolt is usually called by European historians the "victory of Slatin Pasha over Harun". Actually, however, SLATIN's expedition was only one of many others sent against HARUN and his men, and SLATIN, like the others, was unable to overpower HARUN completely and returned from his mission, so to say, empty-handed. HARUN was not vanquished in battle. Later on, the Egyptian governor of the southern districts of Darfur, SOLIMAN ZIBER's ex-commander and traitor to him, NUR ANGERER, succeeded in taking HARUN and his troops unawares in a camp where they thought they were secure, and during this surprise attack HARUN was shot down on the spot. Part of his troops were destroyed, but most of his warriors escaped and hid themselves in the Jebel Mara Mountains, and made HARUN's first cousin, ABDULLAH IDUD BENGHA, sultan in his place.

These revolts broken down, the Anglo-Egyptian regime became ever more oppressive. The British intruders thought they were already definitely masters in the Sudan. But the peoples of the Sudan did not resign to the Anglo-Egyptian yoke. Their suffering and indignation came to a head. The masses were ready to fight. What they needed only was someone to lead and organize the struggle. And they found one. Hardly had two years gone by after HARUN's death and the execution of SOLIMAN and other leaders of the revolt in Bahr el Ghazal, when there turned up a man who in 1881 rose in revolt and declared a "holy war" on the Anglo-Egyptian oppressors. In the Sudan there began the Mahdist movement. Both for its proportions and for its historic consequences it was the most significant movement in the history of the African peoples.

Mohammed Ahmed and His Life Prior to the Revolt

The founder of this movement, MOHAMMED AHMED (called the "Mahdi", that is, Messiah), was born in a poor Arab family of the Dongola district. He was educated in a strictly religious spirit and from his early youth devoted himself to the service of the Moslem religion. He spent many years studying the "holy sciences" of the Moslems, and learnt the entire Koran by heart. Being ordained by a great religious "teacher" of the Sudan of the time, he settled as a religious preacher on Abba Island on the White Nile, where he had relatives in the boat-building trade. There MOHAMMED AHMED lived by his work, tilling a plot of land.

He lived amidst poor peasants and fishermen, observing their miserable life day by day. He saw how cruelly they were treated by the Anglo-Egyptian authorities, how mercilessly they were exploited by the big Arab merchants and the Moslem high priests. And he raised his voice against the rich and the mighty. His passionate ser-

mons and his modest and — in the eyes of the Moslem believers — “holy” manner of life soon gained many disciples to him.

During a ceremony organized by his mentor, however, on the occasion of his son's circumcision, MOHAMMED AHMED delivered a sermon reproving debauchery and lechery, without respect of the high priests themselves. For his preach he was taken to task by his religious superiors.

Although MOHAMMED AHMED felt the right was on his side, yet the spirit of religious humility and obedience he had been educated in proved to be so strong that he pleaded guilty and craved pardon. His furious religious mentor, however, jealously guarding his privileges, decided to remove him from religious functions.

MOHAMMED AHMED tried to obtain pardon on two more occasions. In compliance with the religious customs, he appeared before his superiors as a “repentant sinner” unclothed, a yoke around his neck and ashes in his hair, imploring pardon. His superiors, however, chased him out, calling him a “traitor” and “unclean Dongolese”.

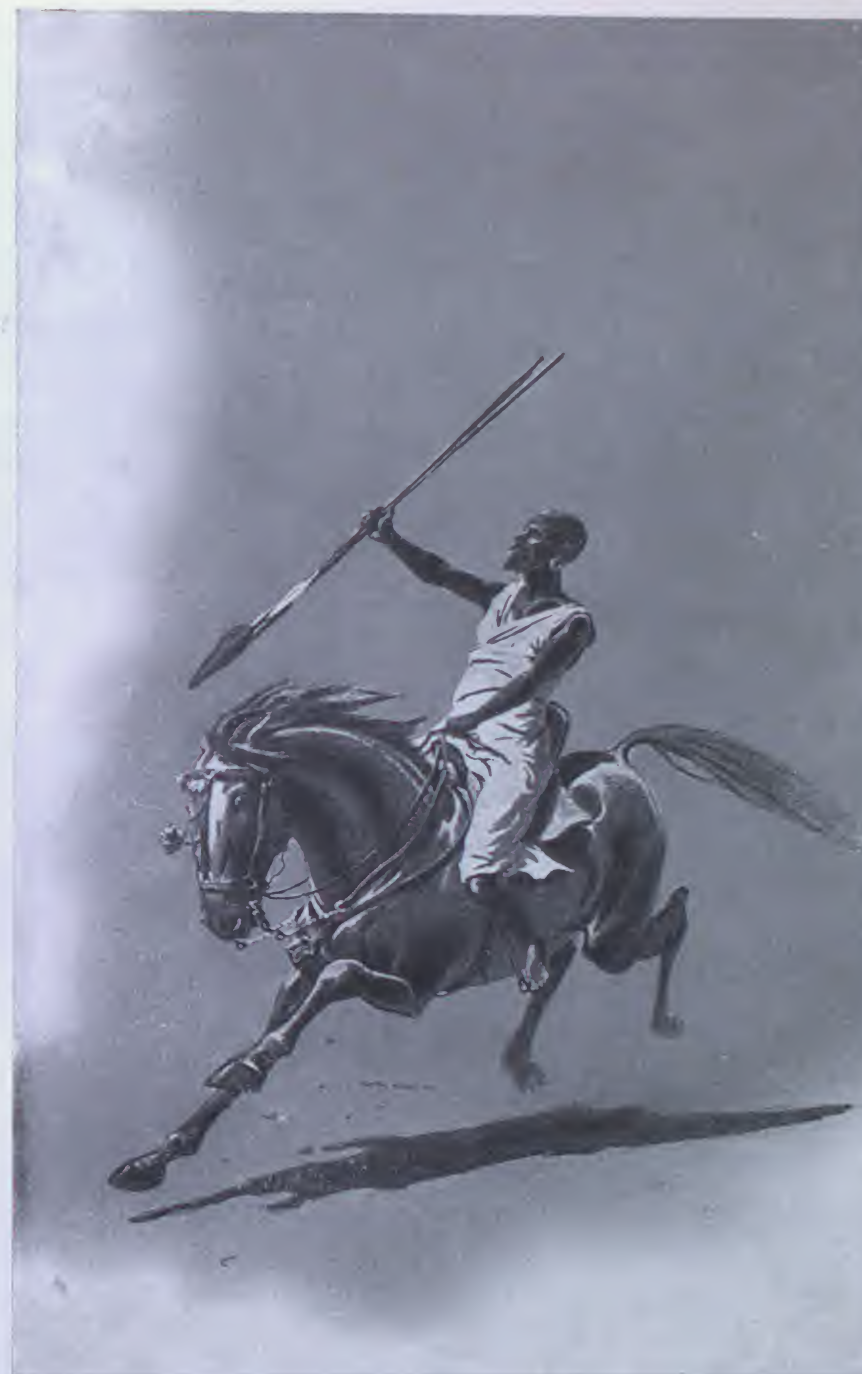
The humiliations he had undergone only strengthened in him the spirit of rebellion, yet his personal grievance was not enough to make him break with the religious traditions. He left his mentor and decided to join the followers of another “teacher”. Having learnt about this, his former “teacher” tried to conciliate him lest the preacher so popular among the large masses should go over to a rival. But now MOHAMMED AHMED was not willing to forgive and forget. He received ordination from another “holy man” and continued preaching on his behalf in the same place.

Unprecedented in the practice of the local Moslems, the courageous behaviour of MOHAMMED AHMED towards his former mentor, and his militant sermons against the rich and the atrocities of the Anglo-Egyptian authorities, made him famous and popular with the masses of the population. Poor people of all tribes and walks of life from remote districts came to him to listen to his sermons. When after his teacher's death he made two journeys in several provinces, he could see that everywhere the masses were equally suffering from the Anglo-Egyptian oppression and from exploitation on the part of the rich, and were equally eager to listen to him who was preaching the liberation of the poor from misery and arbitrariness. Then he decided to rally the people to fight for liberation from the yoke of the foreign oppressors and the exploiters.

Beginning of the Mahdi's Revolt

The religious preacher MOHAMMED AHMED changed into a revolutionary leader. This change took place imperceptibly, for he did not alter the religious character of his sermons. The revolutionary uprising he had started developed under the cover of a religious movement. Making use of the Moslem tradition that some time, when the Moslems would have hard times, there was to appear a second great prophet (the “Mahdi”) who would restore the true faith and redeem the masses from their suffering, he declared himself to be this Messiah sent by Allah to redeem the people. Tens of thousands of oppressed and exploited peasants and slaves greeted with joy the appearance of the redeemer.

The appearance of the Mahdi at once alarmed the Egyptian authorities. (The first to denounce the unfolding movement was the former mentor of MOHAMMED AHMED.) The governor-general of the Sudan, RAOUF PASHA, sent to him a special messenger with the order to go to Khartoum to explain himself. But the Mahdi,



36. A warrior of the Mahdist troops (see p. 353)



37. The Mausoleum of the Mahdi, which was destroyed by Kitchener (see p. 357)



38. Calipha Abdullah in the battle (see p. 355)



39. Calipha Abdullah lying dead after the battle of Jeddah (see p. 357)

relying on the support of the large masses, sternly refused and replied to the messenger of the governor-general:

"By the will of Allah and His Prophet I am the master of this country, and I never shall go to Khartoum to give account of my deeds."

This in fact was the signal for the rising.

The Mahdi was aware that the authorities would immediately attempt to stifle the movement. Therefore he did not wait for the attempts to begin, but declared the "holy war" on the foreign oppressors, and sent his appeals to the people in every corner of the country.

No sooner had these appeals reached their destination than, in August 1881, there appeared on Abba Island two companies of the government troops sent against the Mahdi. They arrived on a steamboat equipped with a gun. Their task was to capture the Mahdi. To stimulate the company commanders, RAOUF PASHA promised promotion to the capturer of the Mahdi. Thanks to this promise of the governor-general, however, the two companies did not take concerted action. When at night they attacked the village of the Mahdi from opposite sides and, being unable to know their way around, they were firing at one another, the Mahdi and his followers (who, having heard about the approaching troops, had left the village and were lying in ambush) assaulted and almost completely annihilated both companies with sticks and rocks.

The news of this first victory of the insurgents over the government troops, reporting that "Men with sticks had slain men with rifles" (as WINSTON CHURCHILL¹ related the events), soon spread throughout the Sudan.

The Spread of the Mahdist Movement and the Liberation of the Sudan

The Mahdi knew full well that the first attack would be followed by other, more vehement ones. Therefore he began organizing his troops. In order to be as far from the central authorities as possible, for the time being he withdrew with all his followers into Kordofan, into the region of Fashoda. He appointed one of his most devoted followers, ABDULLAH IBN-MUHAMMAD, commander-in-chief and "first Khalipha".

The nascent rebel army was not yet properly organized when it had to stand up against 1,400 regular troops of RESHID BEY, the governor of Fashoda. The almost unarmed insurgents searched out the enemy and, on December 9, 1881, made a surprise attack upon RESHID's detachment. Not one of the 1,400 men remained alive.

Thereupon the government decided to organize an imposing military expedition against the insurgents who were rapidly growing in numbers. This growth, however, consisted of paupers, while the rich fled them. The insurgents endured untold privations. Nevertheless, when early in June 1882 they met the 4,000 strong troops of YUSEF PASHA sent to subdue them, the half-naked, almost unarmed army of the Mahdists on June 7 at early dawn unexpectedly assaulted the Egyptians and nearly annihilated them.

This was already a big success. The insurgents seized arms, ammunition and other supplies. The tribes of Sennar, Darfur and other provinces joined them. The Egyptian military and civil administrators were killed or captured. Cities with big Egyptian garrisons were taken by assault like, for instance, the most important of such cities, El Obeid (January 18, 1883).

¹ In his work *The River War* (London, 1899), p. 48.

In the meantime important events took place in Egypt itself. A revolt of ARABI PASHA was crushed, and power actually passed into the hands of Britain. The Egyptian government under British control resumed the war against the Mahdists. In autumn 1883 an army of 10,000 men under the command of the British General HICKS ("HICKS PASHA") moved into the Sudan. By that time, however, he was confronted no longer with a half-naked unarmed crowd of the Mahdi's followers, but with an army of 40,000 men possessing several thousand rifles, thousands of swords and other weapons, including even a number of cannons. Of the 10,000 Egyptian soldiers only about 500 returned home, the rest of them, together with HICKS himself, were killed in the combats on November 3—4. The Mahdists lost but a few hundred men.

With HICKS' army defeated, virtually almost the entire Eastern Sudan was liberated from the foreign yoke. By 1884 Britain was able to hold only the capital of the Sudan, Khartoum, and the port of Suakin on the Red Sea coast.

During 1884 the insurgents gained in strength further. The Egyptian garrisons that had remained in the country were besieged and taken one after the other by the insurgents. After a siege of ten months, at last, also Khartoum fell in 1885. The siege brought death to a considerable part of the garrison, including its British commander, General GORDON, ex-governor of the Sudan.¹

The Eastern Sudan became an independent, free country.

Thus it was that by the time the European powers set about completing the partition of Africa, in the heart of the continent, over a territory of many hundreds of thousands of square kilometres, African peoples oppressed by foreign conquerors could for the first time in the history of Africa regain their freedom and restore their independence.

The Mahdist State. The Role of Religion in the Mahdist Movement. The Death of the Mahdi

The Mahdists established in the Sudan a new independent State. It emerged gradually, as the Mahdists won victory after victory; its organization was completed after the capture of Khartoum. Built by the order of the Mahdi in the vicinity of Khartoum, Omdurman became the capital of the new "State" of the Mahdists.

It was not a State in the ordinary sense of the word. It was a strong military alliance of a multitude of tribes and of a variety of small slave-holding or feudal sheikhdoms united under the rule of the Mahdi in order to restore their independence.

The foundations of this military alliance were laid by the Mahdi. He used the religious traditions of the Moslem peoples of the Sudan and his own imposing authority for uniting all the Sudan peoples (with some insignificant exceptions) and creating a powerful army. Religion was the weapon with which the Mahdi enforced and maintained iron discipline both in the army and among the masses of the people. With regard to the masses, religion replaced in some measure the means of coercion

¹ After several months of procrastination, in December 1884, the British government, under the pressure of British public opinion, sent a special military expedition of 10,000 men to rescue the garrison of Khartoum. But it was "too late", because the British government preferred to sacrifice GORDON and the garrison of Khartoum in order to create a convenient excuse for tightening its control over the Egyptian government and for preparing the future occupation of the Sudan.

without which no State can subsist. Yet the cohesive force in the Mahdist State was not religion but the social ideas behind the religious slogans: dishonesty in wealth, justice for the poor, abolition of servitude, etc. The share of the enemies of these ideas who did not submit to the Mahdist regime was retaliation and, in case of direct resistance, revolutionary terror.

The imperialists who had fought the Mahdist movement, and those who later described its story, have always endeavoured, and still endeavour, to depict the Mahdi as a blind religious fanatic, and the Mahdist movement as one of semi-savage fanatics. But the genuine story of Mahdism tells us just the opposite, namely that the religious slogans and rites were only a cover which concealed national and social aspirations: to expel the foreign oppressors and alleviate the situation of the poor. It was by no mere chance that the movement adopted a slogan expressing both these aspirations: "A thousand graves is better than a thaler of tax" (from the first manifesto of the Mahdi). And it was by no mere chance either that just that representative of the British imperialists whose fate was most closely connected with the Mahdist movement, General GORDON, wrote in his journals during the siege of Khartoum:

"I do not believe that fanaticism exists as it used to do in the world, judging by what I have seen, in this so-called fanatic land. It is far more a question of property, and is more like *Communism under the flag of religion* . . ."¹

The Mahdi himself could only lay the foundations of the new State, but he was not fated to develop and consolidate it. A few months after the capture of Khartoum he was taken ill and died (June 1885). Before his death he nominated the "first Khalipha", ABDULLAH, as his successor.

During the Mahdi's lifetime, in the first few years of the Mahdist movement, the social gist of the Mahdist State as a *nascent feudal State* could not yet make itself apparent, since the Mahdi himself, a former pauper, laid stress upon the interests of the poor and relied upon their masses, at the same time liquidating and expelling some feudal lords and slave merchants, subjugating and exploiting others by forcing them to serve the people (participation in the liberation wars, delivery of goods, etc.). Upon the death of the Mahdi, however, many changes set in.

Khalipha Abdullah and His Policy

ABDULLAH brought to completion what the Mahdi had begun. He was an able organizer, clever general and politician. But in his reign new feudal lords emerged from the Mahdist ruling stratum. ABDULLAH himself granted them and the slave merchants all kinds of privileges, and bestowed riches upon them. The Mahdi, while distributing the looted wealth among the poor, had led a modest life himself. ABDULLAH, on the other hand, made use of the spoils for securing his own living as a rich ruler and buying the support of feudal lords and slave merchants.

This deviation from the original policy of the Mahdi had very sad consequences. The increasing influence and exploiting activity of certain sheikhs, tribal chiefs and slave traders, encouraged by ABDULLAH, gave rise to indignation among various tribes, inducing them to abandon Mahdism, and in places led even to armed revolts against the rule of the calipha. ABDULLAH himself, to thwart the peril of attempted conspiracies on the part of sheikhs and tribal chiefs, was compelled to manoeuvre

¹ The italics are mine. E. S.

by instigating tribal strifes, setting the tribes one against another, etc. He made concessions to the feudal lords and slave merchants. For example, he did not prohibit the slave trade in general, but he forbade the export of slaves from the Sudan. The control the Mahdi had established over commerce slackened considerably. Thus the social achievements of Mahdism — the improvement of the material conditions of the poor — gradually came to nothing. The revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses also subsided considerably. The result was that elements of compulsion began to play a far greater role in the reign of ABDULLAH than under the Mahdi.

But whatever the domestic policy of ABDULLAH might be, when the unity and independence of the country was at issue he was just as firm and resolute as had been the Mahdi. With a view to bolstering the security of his country from external and internal enemies, he mobilized all material resources of his country. His main attention went to the increasing and strengthening of the army. He raised its strength to over a hundred thousand men; 40,000 of them possessed rifles, the rest of them swords and lances. The army had more than seventy guns. In the capital of the Mahdist State, Omdurman, workshops were set up for the production of war material. To provide for the needs of the army, a severe system of taxation was instituted, taxes being collected mainly from the merchants.

The existence of a strong army and the loyalty of the popular masses to the cause of unity and independence, despite their grave material conditions, enabled ABDULLAH to overcome recurring attempts at overthrowing the Mahdists in various provinces, and even to tackle the more difficult task of winning a war against a 150,000 strong army of the Emperor JOHN of Ethiopia who in 1889 attacked the Mahdists upon the instigation of Britain.¹

The Battle of the Nile

In 1896 Britain organized a big military campaign against the Mahdists. A regular army of 25,000 men was despatched into the Sudan, equipped with the most up-to-date weapons.

The attack of the imperialist enemy again raised the enthusiastic spirit in the peoples of the Sudan. All privations and internal strifes were forgotten. Popular masses and leaders were one in the defence of the freedom and independence of their country. ABDULLAH led the military operations in person. Both he and the entire staff of his generals (AHMED FEDIL, OSMAN DIGNA, etc.) proved to be fearless soldiers and clever strategists. The Mahdist troops set good examples of heroism and endurance. The British had to wage obstinate and sanguinary battles for every inch of land.

In spite of the tremendous technical superiority of the Anglo-Egyptian forces commanded by General KITCHENER, they were for more than two years unable to inflict a decisive defeat upon the Mahdists. But lances and swords could not hold out against machine-guns, nor could primitive rifles and mortars resist attacks from the most up-to-date armaments. On September 2—3, 1898, at the battle of Omdurman, the Mahdists were utterly beaten. (It was in this battle that, for the first time in history, the British employed the Maxim guns.) Twenty thousand Mahdist soldiers were killed in battle, and after the "victory", KITCHENER the "hero" marching into Khartoum "restored the honour of Britain" by perpetuating the most barbarous

¹ See p. 362.

crime in world history: to revenge for the death of General GORDON (as mentioned above, the British government, "out of considerations of high policy", had at the time left him treacherously to his fate), he ordered the Mausoleum of the Mahdi demolished and his ashes strewn into the river.

Last Efforts of the Mahdists. British Conquest of the Sudan

But the heroic Mahdists still had fight in them. ABDULLAH with part of his troops retreated to Kordofan. The rest of his troops, headed by one of his best generals, AHMED FEDIL, heroically resisted on the White Nile for several months longer.

At Kordofan ABDULLAH gathered his remaining forces. Early in 1899 the British embarked on a new campaign against him, but with no success. ABDULLAH held out for a few months, and then, in August, with the remaining few thousand loyal soldiers of his he engaged in guerilla warfare.

In the course of this fight, on November 25, 1899, in the region of the sources of the Jedid near the birthplace of the Mahdist movement, Abba Island, ABDULLAH and his last 5,000 faithful soldiers were taken unawares by British troops equipped with machine-guns and cannons. In this battle the majority of the Mahdist warriors, including their leaders, ABDULLAH and AHMED FEDIL, were killed.

On the west OSMAN DIGNA continued fighting for about two more months. He was defeated late in January 1900.

This is how the independence that the peoples of the Eastern Sudan had won and preserved at the cost of many years' heroic struggle was suppressed in the end. The Eastern Sudan was made a British colony in the form of a "joint possession" (condominium) of Britain and Egypt.¹

Summary of the Conquest of the Eastern Sudan

The Eastern Sudan, together with Egypt, was the only part of Africa where Britain was not compelled to share with any other European power. British imperialism became here absolute and exclusive master. True, there existed an Egyptian government which nominally ruled over Egypt and was "co-proprietor" of the Sudan. But its "authority" was extremely limited even in Egypt, and its participation in the administration of the Sudan was almost purely formal.

The occupation of the Sudan was to Britain, above all, of a tremendous strategic importance. The Sudan served as a support base (a) for a war against Ethiopia; (b) for the event of conflict with Italy, and (c) for the defence of the British position in Egypt. At the same time it was a wedge driven between the French African empire, on the one hand, and Ethiopia and Uganda, on the other. Finally, possession of the entire Nile basin meant for Britain that the "third leg" of her long strategic route planned from the Cape to Cairo was secured.

In addition, the Eastern Sudan was highly important to Britain also from the economic point of view in two respects. The waters of the Nile feed and irrigate the Sudan and Egypt alike. The entire economy and prosperity of Egypt, which was so important to Britain, depend on the Nile. Any big power in possession of the upper

¹ As for the Anglo-French conflict in the Eastern Sudan and the Fashoda incident towards the end of the Mahdist era (1898), see above, p. 299 ff.

and middle reaches of the Nile would be in a position to doom Egypt to total ruin. But the Sudan alone, as a country on the Nile, is of great economic importance. The regions irrigated by the waters of the Nile and its affluents are well suited for cotton growing. The Sudan had bright prospects of developing the production of cotton, there being many hundred thousand hectares of land here extremely suitable for the purpose, only an irrigation system had to be built.

To the peoples of the Eastern Sudan, both Arab and Sudanese, the Anglo-Egyptian conquest was of disastrous consequence. The regime installed in the new colony was one of reprisals against the Mahdists and their followers, that is, virtually against the broadest masses of the entire population of the Sudan.

One year and a half after the final suppression of the Mahdist revolt and the occupation of the Eastern Sudan, the French hunter and traveller, R. LUZARCHE D'AZAY, made an excursion along the upper Nile and in the adjacent regions as far as Uganda, and back; in his book on this journey,¹ he manifests a definitely hostile attitude towards the Mahdists and the peoples of the Sudan in general. Nevertheless, in describing what he saw there, in many places of his book he points out facts showing the true aspect of the Anglo-Egyptian "pacification" of the country. Among other things, the author emphasizes the cruel nature of the system of hard labour exacted by the British authorities from the former followers of Mahdism.

"As regards the dervishes", writes D'AZAY, "the Sudanese government has accommodated them in colonies where they have to tackle certain painful jobs. It is they in particular who fell trees to fuel the gun-boats patrolling on the river".²

"Last year an attempt was made to extirpate the sudd.³ Major Matthews, the governor of Fashoda, kept the recently formed dervish colonies occupied for this purpose . . . It was a rough and hard job, it must be admitted. Fever and heat took a great many victims from among the unfortunate people whom this work was imposed upon. The work had to be stopped because of the high mortality raging among the workers . . ."⁴

According to the same author, life was no easier, under the Anglo-Egyptian regime, for the indigenous tribes of the south of the Sudan either. About the *Dinka* tribes, for example, D'AZAY writes that they were so much exhausted by hunger that they ate up the sowing seeds they received by the order of Lord WINGATE.⁵

The biggest city in the Eastern Sudan, Omdurman, which under Mahdist rule had had a population of 200,000, counted only 60,000 inhabitants at the time D'AZAY visited it (December 1902).⁶

After the peoples and tribes of the Eastern Sudan had once been united in the Mahdist State, the transformation of the country into an Anglo-Egyptian colony signified a great stride backward even from the viewpoint of social and political evolution. Not only was a homogeneous State organization suppressed, but also the former small sheikhdoms and tribal alliances fell mostly apart after occupation, while traditional institutions of others were placed under the control of the imperialist colonial State apparatus. Many of the local chiefs who had remained alive were arrest-

ed or removed and replaced by corrupt indigenous agents of the Anglo-Egyptian authorities. The same D'AZAY, for instance, related how the British *sirdar* lured to Khartoum the paramount chief ("king") of the *Shilluk* tribes who had been a follower of the Mahdists, treacherously arrested him and put his nephew, who was agreeable to the British, in his place.¹

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² *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

³ This is the name for the heaps of vegetable matter floating in the Nile and impeding navigation. The British administration engaged in weeding it out in the first few years following the occupation of the Sudan (1900—04).

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 108.

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CHAPTER VI

ETHIOPIA

The Emperor John and European Power Intrigues in Ethiopia

The struggle for the throne among the feudal lords of Ethiopia ended in the victory of the ruler of the Tigré province. In January 1872, he became, under the name of JOHN II (1872-1889), the negus of all Ethiopia. But the unity of the country was rather formal, for the rulers of several large provinces (Shoa, Gojam and others) in fact preserved their independence. In the seventies JOHN had to conduct military campaigns against these rases, particularly against MENELIK, the "king" of Shoa, and this war continued till 1878 when these rulers also recognized the supreme power of the negus.

JOHN acceded to power thanks to British support, which he enjoyed also while fighting against the feudal lords. Italy, in her turn, instigated MENELIK to fight against JOHN. The two great powers, just as France herself, in preparation for the occupation of the country, flooded it with their agents (travellers and missionaries). Britain, having been granted several economic privileges (e.g., total exemption from customs duties) and concessions (for the growing of cotton, indigo and coffee) in return for the aid she had given JOHN in his struggle against his rivals, was seemingly a protector of JOHN and the mainstay of his country's independence. In fact, however, she concentrated her efforts on upsetting not only the calculations of France and Italy but also the plans of JOHN for consolidating his rule and obtaining for Ethiopia a way out to the sea. Britain's intention was to render Ethiopia as weak as possible and then to occupy the country. To this end she decided to make use of Egypt. Instigated by Britain, the Khedive ISMAIL launched two military campaigns against Ethiopia (1875, 1876). But Britain was out in her calculations. The Egyptian forces were defeated by the Ethiopians on both occasions. After this, Britain tried to plot diplomatic intrigues around the negus (GORDON's two missions sent to Ethiopia "by the khedive" in 1877 and 1879). But JOHN began to be distrustful of the British and did not swallow the bait.

Encouraged by the failure of Britain, France and Italy intensified their activity. Italy was the first to proceed to direct occupation. Right after the opening of the Suez Canal, the Italian Rubattino Steamship Company acquired some possessions on the Red Sea littoral (in the environs of the bay of Assab, in Eritrea). Following this, from 1870 onwards, the Red Sea coast of Eritrea as well as the Somali coast and the south of Ethiopia turned into a sort of hunting ground for the multiplying "expeditions" of Italian travellers and missionaries. In 1875 the Italians proposed to occupy the island of Socotra, but Britain got there ahead of them. In 1879 the Italian government took over the possessions of the Rubattino Company and, after declaring them Italian territory, considerably expanded them in the follow-

ing years (1880-83). In 1883 Italy managed to have its conquests on the Red Sea coast recognized by Britain, and she declared the annexation of those regions officially.

It was during the same years that France effectively took possession of Obok, which she had obtained previously (1866), and took several serious steps in preparation for the seizure of the interior regions of Northern Ethiopia. In the course of the seventies and the early eighties, Ethiopia and the Somali coast received visit after visit from French "travellers", official and semi-official agents of the French government (ARNAUD, RIVOYRE, DEBAIZE, SOLEILLET and others).

In 1881 began in the Sudan the victorious Mahdist movement and the gradual expulsion of the Egyptians together with the British. The weaker the Anglo-Egyptian positions became, the more intense was the activity of France and Italy. As far as the Emperor JOHN was concerned, he was at a loss in front of the growing threat of foreign invasion and the Mahdist movement of which he could not grasp the real significance.

In this situation Britain changed her policy. She thought the principal danger was not in the Italian rivalry, but in the competition with France who was trying (the means thereto being at her disposal) to penetrate into the Eastern Sudan by way of both the Red Sea coast and the eastern part of the Central Sudan. She thought her main task to be not to occupy Ethiopia, but to secure a hold over the Eastern Sudan, where she had to destroy the most formidable enemy of British imperialism of the day, Mahdism. It was for this reason that Britain changed her attitude with regard to Italian expansion. Instead of crossing the plans of Italy, she encouraged Italian penetration into the northeast coast of Africa and into Ethiopia, expecting to paralyze France in this way. She expected also the conflict with Ethiopia to weaken Italy.

At the same time Britain again improved her relations with JOHN, posing as a protector of Ethiopia against Italian aggression and deceiving him with the promise to "fight Mahdism in common".

Upon British instigation Italy in 1885 occupied Massawa and, expanding her possessions on the littoral of the Red Sea, seized the entire territory known as Eritrea and began to invade the interior regions of Ethiopia. The Emperor JOHN, however, also stimulated by Britain, sent his armies against the Italians and defeated them (1887). The remnants of the Italian troops withdrew to Massawa.

At the end of the same year Italy made an alliance with JOHN's principal rival, MENELIK, the "king" of Shoa. She supplied MENELIK with arms and urged him to rise against JOHN. The latter prepared for a big war with a view to chasing out the Italians and crushing the MENELIK rebellion. But Britain persuaded him to direct the main body of his army against the Mahdists.

Quarrels between Ethiopia and the Mahdists had begun in 1885. The Mahdists proposed to settle the issue peacefully. But Britain was fully aware that such an agreement could change into a powerful alliance of the independent peoples of Northeast Africa and bring about not only the complete failure of her plans but also the definitive loss of her possessions there (including Egypt). Then, resorting to astute diplomacy, she succeeded in plunging JOHN into the war against the Mahdists. Thus it was that JOHN, instead of settling his differences with the Mahdists, joined the war against them. His army suffered a serious defeat. The Mahdists occupied almost all Amhara and thought the whole affair was settled. But in 1887, after JOHN's conflict with Italy, when Ethiopia was again threatened (from Italy and MENELIK), the British "advisers" talked JOHN into "taking vengeance" for the insults he had suf-

fered from the Mahdists. In March 1889 the Ethiopians were beaten at the battle of Metemma, where JOHN was killed himself.

The Emperor Menelik and the Struggle between Ethiopia and Italy

On the death of JOHN, MENELIK proclaimed himself the negus of all Ethiopia. With the help of the Italians he subjected almost all of his still resisting rivals and thus he really became the ruler of Ethiopia.

In JOHN's lifetime MENELIK had combated him and even concluded alliance with Italy, an enemy of Ethiopia. Not that he had betrayed his people, nor was he lusting for power. On the contrary. He was a great patriot who wanted to create a unified and independent Ethiopia. Also, he was a wise politician who clearly saw that JOHN's weakness would spell disaster to the country. He accepted the help offered by Italy, although he was fully aware that the offer was not made as an act of friendship, but Italy's interests dictated it in order to present the bill after the victory. Yet he was convinced that, once acceded to power and having united Ethiopia in a powerful State, he would be able to safeguard his independence from the Italian "friends". And he was not mistaken regarding Italy's intentions.

Forty days after the enthronement of MENELIK, the Italians forced him to sign a treaty of "eternal friendship" (the famous Treaty of Ucciali). By virtue of this settlement, MENELIK ceded to Italy a number of provinces that did not effectively belong to him, for they were held by his rivals. Besides, the treaty defined precisely the boundaries between Italian and Ethiopian possessions. Article 17 of the treaty stipulated that, in his relations with other powers, the negus *might* have recourse to the service of the Italian government. This was the original wording in the Amharic language, but in the Italian translation the expression "I may" was rendered so as to mean "I am obliged". Later on, with reference to this agreement, the Italians asserted that Ethiopia was an Italian protectorate. On top of this, they began occupying Ethiopian territory beyond the boundaries fixed in the treaty.

MENELIK protested. And when Italy proclaimed Ethiopia an Italian protectorate and Eritrea an Italian colony (1890), MENELIK addressed to all European powers a letter in which he energetically protested the foul play of the Italians (1891), casting courageously to the face of the imperialists: "I have no intention of waiting with folded arms until the overseas powers come to partition Africa".

France and Britain responded to the appeal quickly, either in her own way.

Anxious to ensure her sovereignty over all the Eastern Sudan and, first of all, to keep away France, Britain made a settlement with Italy (and with Germany as well). By the treaties of 1891 and 1892, these two powers recognized the British occupation of Egypt and the Sudan. As for Britain and Italy, they signed an agreement on the partition of Northeast Africa. Britain recognized Eritrea and a great part of the Somali countries as Italian colonies and Ethiopia as an Italian protectorate.

France, on the other hand, eager to take part in the occupation of the Eastern Sudan, decided to support Ethiopia against Italy and thus against Britain too. MENELIK willingly accepted the assistance of France and determined to break away from the Italian "ally".

In 1893 the Italians attempted to "buy" MENELIK's accord. They made him a present of two million cartridges and tried to persuade him to confirm the Italian interpretation of the 1889 treaty. MENELIK, while accepting the present, officially repudiated the treaty.

Thereupon Italy resorted to force. Early in 1894 she began to occupy the north of Ethiopia (Tigré) and sent an ultimatum to MENELIK. But the negus had not the slightest intention of surrendering.

Tigré was in the hands of one of the most powerful rases who had not yet done obeisance to MENELIK. Under the threat of Italian occupation, he called on MENELIK, a stone round his neck (as a sign of submission), and offered his alliance for the struggle against Italy.

France having declared her readiness to help MENELIK in his struggle against Italy, the negus established closer links with France. In June 1894, under the nose of the Italian delegation that had come with the ultimatum, MENELIK concluded with a French company a contract on concessions for the building of a railway line between Djibouti and Harrar, the construction of a telegraph line, etc.

The impudent demands of Italy provoked indignation and awakened the spirit of patriotism in large masses of the population. A popular song was composed on the Italians saying: "You may be cured of the bite of the black snake, but never of that of the white snake".

Menelik's Domestic Policy and Reforms

In his foreign policy MENELIK endeavoured to strengthen Ethiopia's position in the fight for independence by making preparations for the inevitable war against the Italian aggressor. In his home policy he set himself two tasks properly adjusted to the fundamental goal of his entire policy, namely to promote (1) the economic development of the country and (2) interior consolidation by strengthening the unity of the country through centralization of State power.

These two tasks were closely related. To develop domestic trade, accelerate the transition to commodity economy, lay the foundations of industrial production, etc., it was necessary to put an end to the feudal division of the country, to the isolation of certain provinces. But a unified, centralized State with a strong army could not survive without a solid economic basis.

Thus, the elements of MENELIK's domestic policy followed from his progressive foreign policy dictated by the vital interests of the country and the people as a whole. Although the reforms and other interior measures did not affect the very foundations of the existing feudal system of exploitation and did not bring about any notable improvement in the situation of the large masses of enslaved peasants, they nevertheless were of a progressive nature.

During the fifteen years that elapsed between his accession to the throne and the beginning of the war with Italy, MENELIK conducted many campaigns in the interior of the country to put a stop to the separatism of his reactionary vassals. He succeeded in submitting to his power several "rebel" districts (Leka, Volamo, Sidamo, Ogaden and others) of the various rases.

He took a number of measures to promote commerce, granted merchants different rights favouring even the trading activities of the feudal lords, constructed roads, telegraph lines, etc.

In both his domestic and his foreign policy MENELIK did not rely upon the large masses, but he depended on the small and medium feudal lords (mainly those of Shoa) who were engaged in the development of trade, and on the rising commercial bourgeoisie interested in the struggle against the rases and their separatist attempts and against mediaeval methods of dealing with economic affairs.

The Italo-Ethiopian War of 1895-96

Towards the end of 1894 Italy started a campaign against Tigré. But MENELIK thought fit to wait and let Italy get entangled in her easy "conquests". He, in his turn, was preparing for serious resistance.

All Italy extolled "the conqueror of Ethiopia", General BARATIERI, who braggingly promised to carry MENELIK in a cage to Rome before long in case he would receive more credit and two more battalions and a battery of guns. At the same time the peoples of Ethiopia under the leadership of MENELIK were preparing for war and feverishly mobilizing all their forces and resources.

The special taxes (one thaler on a pair of oxen) that MENELIK levied in order to raise money for the purchase of arms were collected in a few days, amounting to two million thalers. In addition, at the appeal of the negus, the people made voluntary presents of bread, clothing and money.

In September 1895, when MENELIK issued his manifesto against the Italian occupiers, the Ethiopian army consisting of the troops raised by different rases united under the high command of MENELIK counted 120,000 soldiers equipped with modern weapons and forty-four guns. In his manifesto MENELIK said:

"An enemy has come from beyond the sea. He has violated our frontiers and attempted to shake our faith and destroy our homeland. I have endured everything: I conducted long talks to save our country which has suffered so severely for the last few centuries. But the enemy, like the mole, still advances, jeopardizing our land and our people. I have had enough of it! I am prepared to take action to defend the country and combat the enemy. Follow me everybody who is strong enough to walk . . ."

At first the Italians tried to bribe certain rases, but this was to no avail. The rases — almost all of them — while negotiating with the enemy, remained faithful to MENELIK and kept him informed of the talks they had.

Early in October 1895, General BARATIERI managed to defeat one of the rases and, thinking he had won the final victory, called upon MENELIK to capitulate, demanding the disarmament of the Ethiopian forces, cession of some provinces to Italy, and recognition of the Italian protectorate over Ethiopia. But MENELIK, instead of surrendering, went over to the offensive.

Early in December MENELIK inflicted a serious defeat upon the Italians. His army decimated the troops of 2,500 men of an Italian general and put the troops of another to flight. The retreating Italian troops were faced with guerilla attacks organized by the peasants who also rose against the occupiers.

In January 1896, after a month's siege, the garrison of the Makele fort built by the Italians capitulated before MENELIK.

Thereupon MENELIK offered peace. His conditions were modest: restoration of the old frontiers and abrogation of the notorious article 17 of the 1889 treaty. However, he was refused.

Late in January and early in February MENELIK, resorting to a clever tactics, lured the Italian army into Adowa, where the decisive battle took place on March 1-2. To the technical superiority of the Italians, the Ethiopians opposed their overwhelming numbers (60,000 against 17,000), their superior morale and their strategy. Of the 17,000 Italian soldiers, 11,000 were killed in battle and 4,000 were taken prisoner. The Ethiopians captured masses of rifles, the entire artillery and equipment of the Italians. Italy was disastrously defeated.

The war ended in May, and in October a treaty of peace was concluded to the effect

that Italy recognized "the absolute independence of the Ethiopian empire as a sovereign State" and undertook to pay reparations.

Menelik's Policy after the War with Italy

After the war against Italy MENELIK exploited his consolidated position and the fact that Britain was involved in the war against the Mahdists and anxious to keep aloof from the turmoils of Ethiopia. In 1897 he secured an agreement with Britain and Italy on the final delimitation of the boundaries. By this agreement, Britain recognized Ethiopia's right to Harrar and the region bordering upon Somaliland which had been in British possession and was thus restored to Ethiopia. Besides, MENELIK was given a free hand on the west: the agreement did not fix the western boundaries of Ethiopia, permitting MENELIK to continue the conquest of the neighbouring Sudan provinces that had thus far been independent. This was the recompense Britain gave MENELIK in return for his passive support of the British campaign against the Mahdist Sudan.

Continuing to develop his friendly relations with France (which at the time endeavoured to penetrate into the Sudan), MENELIK, with the consent and help of the French, continued his campaigns on the west and, in the first few postwar years (1897—1900), considerably extended Ethiopia's western and southwestern boundaries by taking possession of Ogaden, Kafa, Timirra, Aussa and other districts.

Simultaneously with his military campaigns, MENELIK introduced his economic reforms (trade development, road construction, etc.) in all the occupied territories.

Intrigues of the Czarist Government of Russia in Ethiopia

Just like Britain, France and Italy, czarist Russia took part in the scramble for Ethiopia. As early as 1888, in the reign of the Emperor JOHN, the czarist government, pretending to want friendly contacts to be established with the Ethiopian "coreligionists" (the Coptic Church of Ethiopia being close to the Orthodox Church), sent to Ethiopia a mission made up of a detachment of Cossacks and a few monks, headed by the adventurer ASHINOV. In reality, this mission had the task of occupying some places to establish a Russian colony on the Red Sea coast. But the action of ASHINOV, who was trying to accomplish his mission by setting out from a port situated in the vicinity of the French possession near Obok, led to an armed conflict between French and Russians, the result being that the Russians were taken prisoner. Its attempts failing, the czarist government, which at the time was negotiating a loan from France, chose to let ASHINOV down and declared his "mission" to have been a "private venture". But a few years later, when relations between Ethiopia and Italy were deteriorating and France continued to help Ethiopia against Italy (and thus against Britain as well), Russia took France's side. She concluded "friendship" with Ethiopia. In 1894 the czarist government sent to Ethiopia and "ecclesiastical mission" to prepare a so-called union between the Russian and the Ethiopian Church. MENELIK welcomed the Russian advances, since he thought such a rapprochement would counteract the Anglo-Egyptian demands which were far more dangerous to Ethiopia. In 1895 he sent an Ethiopian embassy to St. Petersburg, and in 1896 a Russian embassy was set up in Addis Ababa. The head of the "ecclesiastical mission", Archimandrite EPHRAIM, disclosed the real intentions of czarism in his book entitled *Travel in Ethiopia* that appeared in 1896. He wrote:

"Besides rapprochement in the religious field, friendship could have served our political interests. Our country would have secured a firm position on the Red Sea coast at a point where it reaches the Indian Ocean.

"Thus, in case of necessity, we would have been capable of containing the British at the frontiers of India and ensuring our fleet free passage to Far Eastern waters."

The "ecclesiastical mission" was followed by military missions.

The czarist government despatched to Ethiopia some Russian officers (Colonel ARTAMONOV, Lieutenant BULATOVICH and others) who, in the service of MENELIK's general staff, participated in several campaigns in Ethiopia in the years 1896 to 1898. In case the French plans with regard to the Eastern Sudan would have gone to fruition, then czarist Russia, as an ally of France, ought obviously to have obtained a few bases in Northeast Africa — in all probability at the expense of Ethiopia. But the French plans went to the winds at Fashoda, bringing also the hopes of czarism to nothing. The Eastern Sudan as a whole fell a prey to Britain (in the form of an Anglo-Egyptian condominium). Meanwhile Britain and France, yesterday's antagonists, linked their ties of alliances closer in view of the growing might of their common rival, Germany. Rapprochement soon set in also between Britain and Ethiopia. Thus it was that, although the Russian embassy was maintained in Ethiopia, czarism had to renounce its plans of conquest definitively.

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40. The Negus Menelik (see pp. 363—366)



41. Ethiopian soldiers (see p. 365)



42. Zulu chief Cetshwayo (see p. 370)

The "Diamond Boom" and the Offensive of British Capital

When it became known in Europe and America that diamonds were found in the Orange Republic, diamond seekers rushed to South Africa. The diamond fever seized not only adventurers and speculators, but even the British government.

The discovery of diamond reefs in South Africa and the start of prospecting works opened up new vistas before British capital. But attempts to make use of the opportunity encountered great difficulties. Supplying the fast growing population of the colony, and especially of the diamond districts, with foodstuffs required swift transition from natural husbandry to commodity economy.

The necessity of making means of production available for the exploitation of the earth's entrails called for a rapid development of transportation. (The length of railway lines in 1872 was all in all 90 kilometres.)

Diamond mining and the swiftly developing ancillary branches of production, as well as the intensifying construction of railways, were in need of manpower.

Consequently, the interests of British capital confronted the British colonizers of South Africa with a twofold task:

1. Simply to subjugate — drive away or plunder — the African peoples was no longer satisfactory; the colonizers had to enfeeble and overpower them so as to subordinate them completely to the interests of British capital, to turn them into a huge reserve of cheap labour held in semi-slavery.

2. It became necessary to put the backward patriarchal economy of the Boer farmers into the service of British capital by making it fit in with the capitalist economy. Thus the first requirement was to subject the Boers politically, to deprive them of their independence.

This accounts for the fact that from the seventies onwards Britain made an abrupt change in her "peaceful", "undecided" South African policy of the sixties for a policy of offensive towards the indigenous peoples and the Boer republics alike.

Attack upon the Africans. Wars with Xhosa, Zulu and Basuto Tribes

Having seized all diamond fields already in 1871, the British gave shelter in Natal to several tribes driven out of Zululand, and forced part of their youth to work in the diamond mines. In 1873, on the pretext that Africans returning from the mines carried with them rifles without the necessary licence, the British authorities, "with a view to preventing an insurrection", organized a punitive expedition against them.

The result was that in 1875 the authorities — in the words of the British author JOHNSTON — “initiated changes which had the effect of bringing the natives more completely under the control of the Executive, and approximating them more towards the position of citizens of the colony”.¹ In Cape Colony (in the Transkei territory), the British in 1877, under the pretence of protecting the Fingo tribes from the Xhosa inroads, launched the seventh “Kaffir war” which in 1878 terminated in a gory defeat for the Xhosa.

On the pretext that CETYWAYO was preparing for a “sanguinary war” against the British and the Boers,² the British troops attacked the Zulus and started the so-called “Zulu war” which lasted for seven months (January—July 1879). The number of the war casualties proper is not known. Yet the results are well known. Zululand was magnanimously declared “native territory”; the tribes were placed under the direct control of thirteen chiefs, appointed by the British government and dependent on the supreme authority of a “king” — a European adventurer — and the British Resident. At the same time Africans were obliged to pay taxes.

The state the country was in for the following years, and the way this “peaceful” new regime was established, can be judged by the words of an eyewitness, the well-known British imperialist author, RIDER HAGGARD:

“The Zulus were parcelled out among thirteen chiefs, in order that their strength might be kept down by internecine war and mutual distrust and jealousy: and, as though it were intended to render this result more certain, territories were chucked about in the careless way I have described, whilst central authority was abolished, and the vacant throne was dangled before all eyes labelled ‘the prize of the strongest’. Of course Sir Garnet’s paper agreements with the chiefs were for the most part disregarded from the first . . . In Zululand bloodshed is now a thing of everyday occurrence, and the whole country is torn by fear, uncertainty, and consequent want. The settlement is bearing its legitimate fruit; some thousands of Zulus have already been killed in direct consequence of it, and more will doubtless follow. And this is the outcome of all the blood and treasure spent over the Zulu war! Well, we have settled Zululand on the most approved principles, and thank Heaven, British influence has not been extended!”³

In the *Natal Mercury* of March 13, 1881, occurs the following:

“As to the state of the country it is something we cannot describe; everything is upside down, and the chiefs appointed by the Government are mere nobodies, and have not any power over their own people. Even the Resident is in a false position, and seems perfectly powerless to act either way . . . Witchcraft and killing, one of the pretences on which the English made war, are of everyday occurrence, and fifty times worse than they were before the war. Oham and Tibysio⁴ keep their men continually in the field, consequently those districts are at present in a state of famine.”⁵

At about the same time, from 1879 to 1881, a war was on with the Basuto people. Basutoland had been occupied and made part of Cape Colony as early as 1871, and now the Basuto lived in subjection like their Zulu brothers. In 1883 the country was

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 273.

² For the argument see HOLUB, *Seven Years etc.*, vol. ii, p. 462; and RIDER HAGGARD *Cetywayo and His White Neighbours* (London, 1896), p. 33.

³ See RIDER HAGGARD, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

⁴ Names of two chiefs.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

definitively annexed. Its population of 127,000 was obliged to pay the British government an annual 18,000 pounds sterling, that is, about £1 after every adult male on the average, which was in fact tantamount to the entire people’s being changed into a reserve of manpower for the settlers of Cape Colony.

This is how the “problem” of plundering and enslaving the Africans was settled in a radical manner.

Attack upon the Boers. The First Anglo-Boer War (1880—81)

The affair with the Boers proved to be more complicated. In 1877, on the pretext that the Transvaal government was unable to handle its financial and other domestic difficulties and to overcome the alleged menace of a Zulu invasion, Britain annexed the Transvaal. After three years of British domination the Boers rose against the oppressors. The first Anglo-Boer war (1880—81) brought total defeat to the British aggressors at the battle of Majuba. Britain was again compelled to recognize the Transvaal as an independent republic.

In 1883 Britain made an attempt to form a “federation” of her colonies (Cape and Natal) and the Boer republics. And when this attempt failed, she again tried to annex the Transvaal, but again without success. The Pretoria Convention of August 3, 1881, though recognizing the independence of the Transvaal, nevertheless had imposed certain restrictions. Dissatisfied with these provisions, the Boers towards the end of 1883 sent a delegation to London where, after a few months of negotiations, a new agreement was arrived at (the London Convention of February 27, 1884) which, however, included no substantial modifications as far as either the independence of the Transvaal or the former restrictions were concerned.

Discovery of Gold Fields and Its Consequences

In 1886, on the elevations between the Vaal River and the sources of the Limpopo, in the region known as the Witwatersrand,¹ there were discovered the richest gold fields in the world. This event opened to the Transvaal unprecedented opportunities of a rapid economic development. Fortune-seekers arrived in the country by the thousand, including the greatest “gold-digger” of the world — British capital.

Already as a result of the “diamond boom” part of the upper stratum of Boer landowners (“farmers”) embarked upon the road of capitalist development. A more rapid progress started in agricultural commodity economy, and also industrial and transport undertakings began to prosper. After some years of depression following the slump in diamond prices, the gold fever gave rise to another, still more vigorous, boom. The capacity of the country’s domestic market was growing by leaps and bounds. The Transvaal government very soon patched up its finances with its sharply increasing customs and other revenues. Part of the Boer farmers made quick fortunes, owing to the sudden rise in land prices in the regions where prospecting work was going on.

The Boers were, however, unable to take advantage of the economic development and to occupy the posts of command in the economic life. Instead of developing agricultural production, they began selling their estates to the owners of gold mines or

¹ The Dutch word signifies “White Water Ridge.”

to real estate companies, or ceding to such companies the right to prospect on their holdings to the detriment of farming. Instead of fostering industrial enterprises, they chose a business that seemed to be more profitable: they engaged in ox-carting import goods from Cape Colony's frontier to Johannesburg, or invested their money in the gold mines. But the carting business was stopped as soon as the Cape Colony railway line was extended to the Transvaal. The small capital the Boers had invested in the gold business did not enable them to control the gold industry against mighty British capital, which it took only a few years to seize virtually all gold mines.

Attempts to establish a local industry had but little success. The raw materials necessary for industry, except coal, were almost completely missing. There was a great shortage of labour, since all the manpower available was absorbed by the mines. The few capitalists who decided after all to engage in this business demanded from the government the monopolistic right to supply the country with some commodity or other. As a result, the government derived considerable receipts from the granting of a few such monopolies, and the owners of the monopolistic enterprises pocketed enormous profits. What they did in fact, however, was not promoting genuine industrial development but, as a historian put it pertinently, "pouring jam into pots and packing dynamite into cases". They in fact imported finished or semifinished goods and sold them (after doing on them some processing, if any) at monopolistic prices which they fixed as they pleased. In reality, prior to the Anglo-Boer war not one branch of industry, except for the building trade, was to any considerable extent developed.

Thus the "golden boom" meant to British capital really great economic advantages. British capitalists possessed the gold mines whose output as well as the dividends of the gold-mining companies grew at an extremely rapid rate. British merchants imported to South Africa everything necessary for the development of the gold-mining region: means of production, raw material and foodstuffs. Owing to the backward state of transportation, the rapidly growing gold-mining region in the heart of the country proved to be nearer to Australia and London than to the agricultural districts of the country itself. The goods and products intended for the gold-mining region were transported from the ports of Cape Colony into the Transvaal by rail, which meant big profits to the British railway magnates.

But all this was not enough for British capital. The Transvaal Republic, which had formerly contended with permanent financial difficulties, now became a lucrative undertaking: it disposed of enormous tax and customs revenues. Besides, the existence of the independent Boer republics and their endeavour to curb the insatiable appetite of British finance capital and to ensure themselves the greatest possible share of the profits from the gold business threatened to undermine the monopolistic position of rapacious British finance capital in South Africa. Thus it became a concern of immediate urgency for British imperialism to occupy the Boer republics, which it had anyway been trying to achieve as part of its general aspirations for new conquests.

Cecil Rhodes and Paul Kruger

At the helm of political life in South Africa in those days stood two men; both were great men wielding great influence in their own spheres. One of them was the representative of British imperialism in South Africa, CECIL RHODES, and the other was the President of the South African Republic, PAUL KRUGER.

RHODES was an offspring of the British petty bourgeoisie (son of a provincial clergyman). Still in his teens, he emigrated to South Africa, where he arrived just at the beginning of the diamond rush. He especially distinguished himself by two qualities: an extremely enterprising spirit, and by not being particular about the ways and means of attaining his goals. Thanks to such qualities, he derived a big fortune from the "diamond boom". Upon returning to London as a millionaire, he completed his studies there and entered into contact with influential political circles. A few years later he again went to South Africa, this time as a man who "openly advocated imperialism and applied the imperialist policy in the most cynical manner" (Lenin). First as a member of the Cape Parliament, later as Prime Minister of the Cape government, and at the same time one of the bigwigs of the diamond and gold industry, he set forth the idea of creating an immense British colonial empire in Africa "from the Cape to Cairo", and was dreaming of becoming the financial boss of such an empire. The foremost tasks he set were the final conquest and subjugation of the Boer republics and the occupation of the vast territory between the Limpopo and Congo Rivers (which was later to become Southern and Northern Rhodesia). The latter he occupied relatively easily late in the eighties,¹ but the Boer affair proved to be more difficult to settle.

The President of the South African Republic, PAUL KRUGER, was a typical representative of the class of big Boer farmers. A boy of 9, he took part in the "Great Trek" of the Boers and from his early childhood he was taught to hate the British oppressors of his people. The ordinary Boer farmer's patriarchal views (love of freedom and independence, craving after total democracy for "his people", religious and racial prejudices, hostility towards the Africans, and suspecting everything "alien") were combined in him with the ardent patriotism characteristic of the most progressive elements of the Boer people, with their conscious hatred for the English, and with a practical mind and great diplomatic abilities. He had a completely clear idea of the real mainspring of Britain's policy of conquest. Guided by the intense desire and determination to save the freedom of his people and the sovereignty of their country from the attempts of British intruders, he made every effort to create the economic preconditions of this sovereignty, to consolidate the political independence of his country.

Economic Warfare between Britain and the Boer Republics

The struggle that erupted between British capital and the Boer republics was at the outset fought by peaceful means — it was an economic and political tug-of-war. The inspirer and leader of this struggle on the British side was the rich profiteer RHODES. On the side of the Boers the struggle was organized by "the loyal son of his people, the genuine Boer patriot", president Kruger, or "Uncle Kruger", as all his people used to call him.

The struggle was, first and foremost, about the question of railways and import duties.

The first railway lines in Cape Colony were built to serve the heart of the diamond industry, Kimberley. Already in 1876 the construction of three new lines were under way, starting from three principal ports of Cape Colony (Capetown, Port Elizabeth.

¹ See p. 383 ff.

East London), with a total length of 3,200 kilometres, but none of them went farther than Kimberley. By the beginning of the "golden era" Natal had only a single short line, 32 kilometres in length, connecting Durban with Pietermaritzburg. After the discovery of gold railway construction became a crucial issue both for Cape Colony and for Natal, which were striving to lay hands upon the profits derived from transit trade, as well as for the Transvaal itself. In two years the Cape Colony railways were extended as far as the Rand, and by 1890 Cape Colony became the monopolist of transit trade. Investment in the railways during two years (1890—1892) increased by four million pounds sterling (from £10,665,000 to £14,557,000), and during the following two years it rose by another £1,500,000. At the beginning of the nineties about half the State revenue of Cape Colony came from the railways. The volume of transports on all three lines rose from 358,000 tons in 1887 to 832,000 tons in 1894.

But this monopolistic position of the colony was to last only five years. The fact was that, while the distance from Johannesburg to Capetown was about 1,600, that between the Rand and the Portuguese port of Lourenço Marques was only 500 km., and between the Rand and the Natal port of Durban it was not more than 1,000 km. True, the Transvaal government in the beginning, for lack of financial means, could not afford to construct roads. But fully conscious of how extremely important the matter was, it gave permission to extend the Cape route over its territory (over a distance of 64 km.) in return for the right to buy it back at the earliest possible date. Besides, it granted a Dutch company concession for the construction of a short railway line running — almost entirely through the territory of the Transvaal — to the Portuguese port. This line was completed already in 1892, but because of the unfitness of the Portuguese port, its traffic was very poor until 1895. And when Natal built its own railway right to the Transvaal frontier, the Transvaal government first refused to allow its extension to the Rand, but later, in 1895, gave its consent in return for a favourable customs agreement.

Thus the situation completely changed by the years 1895—96. A small sector of the Cape railway line running through Transvaal territory, and a more significant line traversing the Orange republic, were bought back by the respective governments. The opening of the two new and considerably shorter lines, especially the one running to the Portuguese port, threatened with total bankruptcy the transit trade which in those years had become one of the main sources of the capitalist exploitation of Cape Colony, the main item in its State revenue.

In 1895, at the initiative of the Cape administration, a conference was held in Capetown where representatives of British capital tried to arrive at a peaceful agreement for a proportionate distribution of trade traffic among the three lines. The Transvaal government, however, aware of its advantageous position, was not agreeable to any concession whatever.

The result was that the profits of Cape Colony and Natal, which in the previous years had doubled and trebled, in 1896 began to drop abruptly. It was quite clear that, without resorting to "strong" arguments, the British investments made in the railways would soon be lost, since the Transvaal government was in a position to ruin the British railways by reducing its own tariffs.

Another point of dispute was the problem of customs duties. Here also, the British imperialists suffered great losses. The Cape government levied import duties on all goods coming from beyond the ocean. In addition, in the first few years following 1896, it still drew a substantive income from its settlement with the Transvaal government to the effect that the latter, which did not yet possess railway lines of its own, made over to Cape Colony 25 per cent of all duties collected from goods

coming to the Transvaal by the Cape railways. After the Cape railways had lost their monopolistic position, this share was cut down to three per cent. And Natal, on the strength of the agreement by which it had been allowed to extend the Durban line as far as the Rand, had to let all goods destined to Transvaal pass through without paying duties. It was entitled to collect only the three per cent transit duty without coming in for a share of the Transvaal customs revenue.

The decrease in freight traffic on the British railways at the same time threatened the government with loss of its receipts from the railways, with a considerable decrease in its customs revenue, and with the decline of British exports to South Africa, which had rapidly increased in the previous few years. The Transvaal government's efforts to free itself from the tutelage of Britain had the result that in the second half of the nineties Britain's share in the Transvaal imports rapidly diminished, while that of other countries rapidly increased.

Thus the economic warfare between British capital and the Boer republics promised the defeat of the British. By the end of the nineties British imperialism clearly saw that without effecting drastic measures it would not be able to hold its monopolistic commanding position in the economy of the Boer republics.

The Problem of the Rights of British Immigrants

British capital, acting in the person of RHODES, did not confine its imperialist schemes to the economic field. It displayed subversive activities on a large scale also in the domestic policy of the Boer republics.

Side by side with the Boers, there lived in these countries British settlers too (the so-called "outlanders"). As a consequence of the diamond rush, and especially of the gold boom, their numbers increased considerably. Among these new colonists there were many profiteers, adventurers, fortune-seekers, etc. Their majority went to the Boer republics, not with the intention of settling down permanently, but in order to make fortunes in a few years and then go back to Britain. The governments of the Boer republics, though granting all European colonists the same democratic rights and liberties as their own citizens enjoyed, nevertheless, anxious to safeguard the interests of their countries and peoples, gave the franchise to the newcomers only after a certain term of residence in the country.

In order to create an excuse for political conflicts between the Boer republics and Britain, RHODES decided to launch a "movement" for political equality among the British subjects living in the Boer republics. To this end, he founded an anti-Boer political organization called the Reform Committee, and carried on — through the corrupt press — a vigorous campaign of slander about the "tyrannic" regime of the Boers towards the British.

The Boer leaders realized that to give the British settlers all political rights at once would mean to hand over political power in the country to British finance capital, which would be capable of settling in South Africa additional "colonists" and thus grabbing full political control over the country. It was also obvious that the "movement" was of a provocative character, that the British government quarters themselves did not even take their own demands seriously, that they wished to achieve their aim — suppression of the independence of the Boer republics — not by "constitutional" means, but by force. The "movement" served but as a means of aggravating the situation in order to prepare the ground for British intervention. The Boer leaders knew full well that any concession on their part would be tantamount to giving

up their positions, that such concessions would not thwart but, on the contrary, would increase the threat of official British intervention. Therefore, in this matter as well as in economic questions, they stuck to their old course of policy.

Intrigues of Imperial Germany

Germany followed the brewing conflict with keen interest. The German imperialists did not renounce their intention of preventing Britain from seizing all South Africa and of expanding the German possessions in South Africa by occupying the Boer republics. Making use of the growing antagonism between British finance capital and the Boer republics, the German imperialists put on the guise of "defenders of right and justice" and repeatedly and openly demonstrated their readiness to support the Boer republics in the case of direct threat to their independence on the part of Britain.

In the autumn of 1894, for instance, two German warships "visited" Delagoa Bay, and in January 1895 (on the birthday of the German emperor), at a gala banquet given at Pretoria in honour of "German-Boer friendship", the German consul said that Germany was "a sincere and loyal friend of the Transvaal" and was interested in ensuring the independence of the Boer republics. This statement was so unambiguous that President KRUGER in his toast declared openly:

"I know that I can in the future count upon the Germans . . . Our little republic is still crawling among the great powers, and we are confident that, if one of them wishes to tread on our feet, another will try to prevent it".

Worried by the unequivocal display of German activity in the Boer republics, Britain demanded explanation from Germany. The German government pleaded Germany's economic interests in South Africa, asserting that they would suffer in case the Boer republics would be annexed to the British possessions, and reminded Britain of the 1884 Convention in which she had recognized the independence of the Boer republics.

Jameson's Raid into the Transvaal

The German intrigues did not stop, and the economic warfare with the Transvaal government became ever more embittered. Late in 1895 the British imperialists, being convinced that the Boer governments would not back out of their firm positions either in the matter of the railways and customs duties or in the question of the British colonists, decided to attempt to settle the conflict with the Boer republics and with Germany at one stroke — by means of provocation. Thus they tried to provoke "trouble".

In Johannesburg they organized a provocative "uprising" of the British colonists pretending to demand political equality. This uprising was meant only to serve as a pretext for intervention, to back up the mob action from the outside. The "uprising" was to break out on December 27, 1895, and arrangements had been made for the British troops "stationed by chance somewhere about", near the frontier of Rhodesia, under the command of one of RHODES's agents, the adventurer JAMESON, "administrator of the territory of the British South Africa Company", to come on the following day to the rescue of the "insurgents", "to restore peace and order".

The "uprising", however, misfired: its leaders put it off for January 6. Then JAMESON decided to act single-handed: On December 29, 1895, with 800 soldiers, six machine-guns and four guns he descended upon Transvaal territory with a view to take Johannesburg and Pretoria by surprise. But the Transvaal government, getting word of their approaching, sent against them a detachment of 600 men under General CRONJE. The Boers encircled the British troops, and JAMESON surrendered after a short combat in which 134 British soldiers were killed. Upon this the Johannesburg "insurgents" also changed their minds and laid down arms on January 6.

The German imperialists tried to exploit the JAMESON provocation for fishing in troubled waters. They intended to send German sailors from a warship anchored in Delagoa Bay to Pretoria "to defend the Germans living there", but they were late. They inquired of Britain about what she intended to do against the "armed bandits" who had violated international law. But again they had bad luck, since Britain, having heard of the failure of the JAMESON raid, hastened of course to disavow him. Finally, on January 3, 1896, the Emperor WILLIAM sent KRUGER a cable of congratulation on the Boers' success in repelling the attack "without asking for the help of other powers". This cable encouraged the Boers to refuse to yield to the British demands, inspiring them with the false certainty that, in the event of an armed attack from Britain, Germany would hasten to their succour.

But the leaders of the Boer people were not elated with the success.

The Policy of Peace of the Boer Republics after the Jameson Raid and the Continued British Provocations

To avoid sharpening the conflict with Britain, the Transvaal government did not even subject JAMESON to trial, but handed him over to the British authorities (which virtually exculpated him), and the Johannesburg "insurgents" were granted pardon. But neither this nor the further attempts of the governments of the Transvaal and Orange republics to settle the disputed questions with Britain were to any avail.

The British government, which was preoccupied by the increasingly gloomy perspectives of British capital, always found new reasons for political disputes. With the aid of its agents, it artificially created new and new minor conflicts in order to have excuses for quarrelling and for interfering in the internal affairs of the Boer republics.

The Boer governments repeatedly offered to submit the controversial issues to arbitration. The British government, in which the Colonial Secretary at the time was JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, rejected the offer on the ground that, by virtue of the London Convention of 1884,¹ Britain was suzerain of the Boer republics. This was an obvious lie, but CHAMBERLAIN's position revealed the duplicity and provocative character of the entire British policy.

In May 1899, at the initiative of President STEYN of the Orange republic, the two Boer Presidents held a special conference in Bloemfontein with the British High Commissioner of South Africa, Lord MILNER, to work out an amicable settlement. Both Presidents made considerable concessions (for example, they offered to grant the franchise to all "outlanders" with a term of residence of at least five years' duration in the Boer republics), but MILNER, who was a blind instrument in the hands of

¹ See p. 371.

RHODES and CHAMBERLAIN, put forth ever more demands, their aim being rupture, not agreement.

KRUGER and STEYN were not taken in by this provocation. Returning from the talks empty-handed, they continued their peaceful course of policy. KRUGER even enacted a bill enfranchising the "outlanders".

Beginning of the Second Anglo-Boer War

But Britain had resolved to make war. She began to concentrate her troops in South Africa and drew them together near the frontiers of the Boer republics. On October 8–9, the Boer governments received news of 25,000 troops being mobilized in Britain to be shipped to South Africa.

It would have been a senseless thing to wait with folded arms for the British to attack. On October 9, KRUGER sent the British government an ultimatum demanding a stop to the further inflow of British troops, recommending mutual withdrawal of the troops from the frontiers, and declaring that in case a positive answer would not come within 48 hours, the Boer governments would be compelled to regard the conduct of the British government as a formal declaration of war.

Many of the Boer burghers hoped against hope that war would not come. They remembered the banquets and promises, the solemn phrases that the Boers could "count upon the Germans", that "if any one of the great powers wished to tread on their feet, another would prevent it". But the great and mighty "friend" of the little Boer republics, imperialist Germany, remained silent. Having agreed with Britain on the protection of her material interests in South Africa, she left the Boer republics to the mercy of fate — fate being impersonated by the British imperialists.¹

On October 11 arrived the British reply in which the British government declared that the Boer proposals were "unsuitable for discussion". This practically meant a declaration of war on the Boer republics.

The Boers were not taken unawares by the war. Britain's entire policy for some years past had made it clear that the affair was sooner or later to degenerate into an armed conflict. And the Boers prepared themselves for it commensurate with their means and possibilities. They were equipped with rifles of the best type of that time, the Mauser 1896 (while the British troops used the obsolete Lee-Metford rifle), and possessed about 100 guns and about the same number of machine-guns.

The troops of the two adversaries at the outbreak of the war were pretty well balanced, about 28,000 on each side. But to the Boers, this meant in fact mobilization of all men between 18 and 50 years of age. Furthermore, through voluntary enlistment of young men between 14 and 18, and of people over 50 years, they could, and did later indeed, raise their numbers up to 50,000 men.² As regards Britain, however, those 28,000 men represented but an infinitesimal part of the forces she was capable of sending to the front against the Boers. In the end, the British forces that took the field during this war amounted to over 400,000.

First Stage of the War: the "Great War" (October 1899 to July 1900)

The British reply to KRUGER's note arrived on October 11. In the evening of the same day the Boer forces crossed the frontiers of Natal and Cape Colony.

¹ As to the Anglo-German agreement of 1898, see above, p. 301.

² The entire Boer population of the two republics, women and children included, did not exceed 200,000.

To begin with (in October and early in November) the Boers won many a brilliant victory on all three fronts. On the eastern front, under the command of General JOUBERT, they penetrated into Natal, defeated the British troops in several battles, drove them eastward and encircled their main body in the city of Ladysmith, which then they besieged. On the western front, under the command of CRONJE, they likewise laid siege to Mafeking and Kimberley. On the south, the Boer troops intruded into the northern regions of Cape Colony, where part of the local Boer population joined their ranks.

In the latter half of November the British, after receiving great reinforcements, took the offensive on all three fronts in order to relieve their forces beleaguered on the west and in Natal, and to rid Cape Colony of the presence of Boer troops. This offensive, which lasted from the middle of November to the end of December, was a complete failure. Not one of the besieged cities was relieved. Besides, all three British assaulting armies (those of General BULLER in Natal, General METHUEN on the west, and General GATACRE in the north of Cape Colony) sustained several serious defeats. But the Boers, owing partly to the superior numbers of the British, partly and chiefly to their troops' poor organization and discipline, could not exploit their victories. Nowhere did they change defensive for offensive, and they could not take any one of the fortified cities of the British they had laid siege to.

Towards the end of December the British armed forces in South Africa amounted to 105,730 men. Early in January a new commander-in-chief, General Lord ROBERTS, arrived in South Africa, with Lieutenant-General KITCHENER as the chief of staff. The British started a new offensive. To ensure success, ever growing numbers of troops were directed to the theatre of war. By the middle of March the troops numbered around 200,000. In front of so great a numerical superiority (let alone the tremendous technical superiority), the Boers of course could not hold their ground. On February 16, the troops of General ROBERTS relieved Kimberley on the western front. CRONJE's retreating troops (4,000 men) were encircled at Paardeberg and, after nine days of heroic resistance, were compelled to surrender. During January and the first half of February, General BULLER attacked on the eastern front on three occasions, but he was each time defeated and repelled by the Boers before, at last, in the second half of February, his fourth offensive resulted in the relief of Ladysmith (February 28), and thus he succeeded in forcing the Boers to retreat. In the north of Cape Colony the Boers, under hard pressure from the enemy, also were compelled to withdraw in spite of heroic efforts under the command of General DE LA REY.

In March the Boers were compelled to beat general retreat. At the same time they gradually switched over to guerilla warfare. The initiator and brilliant leader of guerilla fights was the most talented and most courageous of the Boer commanders, General CHRISTIAN DE WET. On March 31, with 1,200 soldiers, he made a surprise attack upon 2,000 British troops at Sannah's Post and utterly defeated them. The British loss was 600 killed or wounded, 400 prisoners, seven guns, 600 rifles, 12 cartloads of ammunition and the entire baggage train (1,200 cartloads). The Boers lost four killed and eleven wounded. Within three days DE WET repeated his brilliant exploit in another place, and, from that time on, he was constantly dealing severe blows at British detachments.

But under the pressure of the overwhelming numbers of the British, the main Boer forces continued to retreat. Still in March, the British took Bloemfontein. In the middle of May they relieved Mafeking of the siege. At the end of May ROBERTS took Johannesburg, and early in June Pretoria too. Thus having seized part of the Transvaal and Orange republics, Britain declared their occupation.

Second Stage of the War: Guerilla Warfare (July 1900 to May 1902)

However, a great part of both republics remained in the hands of the Boers who, despite their weakness, did not stop resistance. Of course, there was no question of conducting military operations with established methods. The British troops outnumbered the Boer forces about ten times. (In January 1901, the British forces amounted to over 250,000, while the Boers had only 22,000 men under arms. On January 1, 1902, they were in the ratio of 237,800 to 18,000.) On top of this, the Boers were almost completely devoid of artillery.

In the latter half of 1900 began the second stage of the war, the guerilla that continued over almost two years.

This stage of the Anglo-Boer war belongs to one of the most glorious chapters of the history of liberation wars. It was indeed "the fight of David against Goliath". Small detachments of brave Boer patriots, loyal to the cause of the independence of their homeland, poorly equipped and suffering all kinds of privations, fought against the gigantic strength of the British colossus disposing of an immense army and no end of ammunitions. Under the command of their talented guerilla leaders (DE WET, DE LA REY, OLIVIER, BOTHA, etc.), in the course of two years, they made innumerable attacks upon the British troops, making their appearance wherever they were least expected to, and disappearing after accomplishing their feat, slipping away from the pursuing British forces with lightning speed. Their guerilla assaults were not confined to the territory of the Transvaal and Orange republics; they often made incursions into Cape Colony as well.

The Peace of Vereeniging

Indeed, the British were unable to inflict a total defeat on the Boer freedom fighters on the battlefield, to break down their resistance or capture the untiring guerillas. But British imperialism threw in the war not only soldiers and weapons. In the territories they had occupied they pursued the policy of "fire and sword". The wives and children of the Boers in arms were evicted from their farms, their farm houses were burnt down, destroyed or pillaged. Women, children and old people were roving in the country, without shelter and food. Part of them were removed to concentration camps where large masses died of starvation and diseases. The death rate in these camps reached 30 to 33 per cent among the adults, and 47 to 50 per cent among the children.

At the beginning of 1902 the situation of the entire Boer people was already unbearable. At the same time they became convinced that, for all their heroic resistance, they were not in a position to save their country's independence in the face of the overwhelming superiority of British forces. Therefore, in April 1902 the leaders of both Boer republics agreed to negotiate peace with KITCHENER and MILNER.

Britain demanded total capitulation, delivery of all weapons and renunciation of the independence of the Boer republics. On the other hand, she promised to grant amnesty to all participants of the war, to allow all the Boers who were in British captivity or in the field to return to their former residence and to re-enter upon their property. She promised to replace "as far as possible" the military administration of both countries by civil administration, and to introduce the optional use, beside English, of the Boer language in the schools and courts of the Transvaal and Orange republics.

In view of their hopeless position, the representatives of the Boer people from both republics, who in May 1902 met at Vereeniging to discuss the British proposals, were compelled to accept them. The treaty of peace was signed on May 31. The heroic epic of the Boer people's struggle against the British conquerors came to an end.

The Effect of the War

The Anglo-Boer war cost Britain approximately 30,000 human lives and about 150 million pounds sterling.

The Boers lost more than 20,000 men. The loss of the peaceful population — women, children and old people who died in camps — also exceeded 20,000. The material losses of the Boerdom were immense, not to speak of the most valued treasure they lost — national independence. Their free countries were made British colonies. The countries with the richest diamond and gold reefs in the world found themselves under the complete economic and political control of British finance capital.

The heroism displayed by the Boers at war with the British aggressors went down in history as a brilliant example set by a people who had taken up arms in defence of their freedom. This heroism can be illustrated by a few figures: The over-all number of the Boers who took the field, as already mentioned, amounted to 50,000 at a time when the total population of the two Boer republics, including women and children, did not exceed 200,000. That is to say, all adult men and a considerable part of the youth between 14 and 18 years of age stood under arms. The British troops thrown into battle in South Africa in the course of the war numbered more than 400,000.

The most brilliant example of Boer heroism was set during the guerilla war after the fall of Pretoria, from July 1900 till May 1902.

Causes of the Defeat of the Boers

A great part in the defeat of the Boers was played beyond doubt by the technical (and chiefly numerical) superiority of the British army. This was not, however, the only cause, nor was it the main one.

Despite the superior numbers of the British forces, the Boers were capable of winning victories and defending their independence. As far as human qualities were concerned, they were fairly superior to the British. The Boer military leaders were far above the British generals. The Boer soldiers possessed such militant and moral qualities as the British troops could not display. The militant and moral qualities of the Boer soldiers were unattainable for the British troops which consisted, to a greater extent, of soldiers sent to war as cannon fodder and, to a lesser extent, of the rabble of adventurers. This was to be seen clearly in the events of the first few months of the war — the brilliant successes of the Boer offensive at the very outset, and thereafter the complete failure of the first British offensive.

But the Boers could not make use of their victories. They inflicted serious defeats upon the enemy, but they did not pursue the defeated enemy to vanquish him completely. Later, after the British had begun their offensive, the Boers consistently abode by their defensive tactics, and did not combine defensive struggle with offensive operations.

This inexpedient warfare resulted mainly from the Boers' being unsatisfactorily organized and disciplined. They had no standing army, but detachments of voluntary

fighters who, though they knew what they were fighting for and were loyal to their fatherland, yet were accustomed to the free life of farmers, to the "freedom" by which they traditionally understood insubordination to any strong central power; into the ranks of military formations they brought with them their capricious manners and lack of discipline. In the struggle with an adversary drilled under iron discipline, they did not abandon the patriarchal traditions of their "burgher commandos" of old times. But the methods and tricks that had been suitable for the struggle against weak African tribes, or against single small colonial detachments of the British in the first war in 1880—81, proved to be unfit for the struggle against a huge British army (for example, election of the commanders, "democratic" discussions about strategic plans, etc.). As long as the burghers were arguing for and against, pleading and quarrelling, the British generals could withdraw their defeated troops, saving them from certain destruction.

Much harm was done to the Boers by their religious prejudices, which compelled them to treat the enemy "as becomes Christians". The British unscrupulously used dum-dum bullets, sent their prisoners to St. Helena or to Ceylon (it happened also that they executed the Boers they had taken prisoner), outrageously insulted the peaceful population and destroyed their property; the Boers, on the other hand, not only considered their duty to observe each and every rule of correct warfare scrupulously, but often manifested absolutely meaningless "magnanimity" (for example, by setting their prisoners free).

Another important circumstance that contributed to the defeat of the Boers was that, being an oppressed nation fighting for their independence against the British oppressors, they were at the same time a nation of oppressors with regard to the African majority of the population of a land which they considered their own country. They could not count on any kind of assistance from the African tribes whom for a full century they had treated as the worst of enemies, seizing their land and cattle, driving them out of their territory or exploiting them on the level of semi-slavery. Their racial prejudices and engrained enmity towards the African population were so strong that it did not even occur to them — not even in the grip of mortal danger to their national existence — to break with their hostile attitude and prejudices and to try to win over the oppressed African peoples to the struggle against the common foe.

The Africans themselves, of course, could not realize either that their interests, despite the past litigations, were common with the Boers, that the principal and worst enemy of both the Africans and the Boers were the British conquerors. They knew the Boers to be oppressors and exploiters. With the British they had thus far little contact (the people in question are those inhabiting the Boer republics), and the British found no difficulty in duping them by their hypocritical anti-Boer propaganda and mendacious promises. At the very best, the Africans were indifferent, or rather malicious, at the sight of the suffering and fruitless efforts of the fighting Boers, but in many cases they were taken in by British agitation and turned on the Boers.

A characteristic fact is that at the Vereeniging conference, during the discussion whether to make peace or to continue the war, one of the main arguments advanced by the representatives of the Boer people in favour of concluding peace was just the gravity of the situation resulting from the hostile attitude of the Africans.

Here are some excerpts from what delegates to the conference said:¹

¹ See Ch. DE WET, *Der Kampf zwischen Bur und Briten* (Leipzig, 1902?), p. 335 ff.

"... *L. Botha*: The Kaffir problem becomes ever more serious. At Vryheid there is already a detachment of Kaffirs unleashing attack after attack. The behaviour of the Kaffirs gives the Boers a lot of trouble and acts upon the spirit of the burghers in a depressing manner ...

"... *General Beyers*: ... At Waterberg the Kaffirs show indifference to the burghers: they are neither for nor against them. At Zoutpansberg they are inclined to revolt ...

"... *Commander Uys* (North Pretoria): ... The Kaffirs, except those led by Matello, are hostile ...

"... *Burgher Birkenstock*: ... All the time we are in danger from the Kaffirs, who have always had a hostile frame of mind ...

"... *Botha*: ... The Kaffirs in the eastern district joined the British and they are acting in concert. They take away the cattle of the Boers and give them to the British ...

"... *Burgher J. Grobler* (Carolina): ... The Kaffirs are in a hostile mood ..."

Conquest of the Rhodesias

At the beginning of the period of the partition of Africa, in the vast territory known today as the two Rhodesias¹, there existed two great independent African countries whose mineral wealth attracted the covetous eyes of the imperialists, namely the *Matabele* country between the Limpopo and the Zambezi, and the *Marotse* country between the Zambezi and the Congo.

In the seventies the country of the Matabele and the subject Mashona tribes was explored by many European travellers. The mineral resources discovered there allured many big merchants, German and English alike, who in the eighties swindled the Matabele chief, LOBENGULA, into signing a number of one-sided agreements on concessions. All these concessions were later bought up by CECIL RHODES on behalf of the British South Africa Company he himself had founded.

In 1888 an agent of RHODES's, MOFFAT, made an agreement with LOBENGULA whom he misled about what was really agreed upon. LOBENGULA was in the belief that it was a treaty of friendship with Britain by which he was to allow the British to trade and to prospect for minerals in the country. In fact he was made to sign a document transferring the whole country to Britain. On the basis of this "agreement" the Company in 1889 received a charter from the government and proceeded to occupy effectively all Matabeleland and Mashonaland, to sell out landed estates to European colonists and concessionaires, to exploit the mineral resources, etc.

LOBENGULA indignantly appealed to his "friend", the Queen of England, and having convinced himself that he had been deceived, he tried to expel the intruders by the force of arms. In 1893, after heroic efforts, the Matabele troops suffered defeat. LOBENGULA was compelled to flee from his country. The territory was definitively occupied by the Company.

LOBENGULA died in exile in the same year, and the Company set about exploiting the country. But in the spring of 1896, the Matabele and Mashona tribes, who had formerly been hostile to each other, joined forces and rose against the aggressors. After half a year's struggle, RHODES succeeded in persuading part of the Matabele

¹ The name "Rhodesia" was given to these colonies in 1895.

chiefs to surrender. But the rest of the Matabele and all Mashona tribes kept on fighting for almost a whole year.

It was considerably easier for the Company to acquire Northern Rhodesia, owing to the weakness and meekness of the Barotse chief, LEWANIKA, who first gave way to the influence of the missionaries who had settled in the country late in the seventies, and from 1890 onwards concluded with the Company several agreements by which he gradually "ceded", that is, sold the Company the entire country of his people. As a result, the British government in 1899–1900 proclaimed Northern Rhodesia a "territory under the control of the British South Africa Company".

Anglo-Portuguese Rivalry in Southeast Africa. Conquest of Nyasaland by Britain.

Simultaneously with the struggle of British capital for the possession of the Boer republics, a competition was going on in Southeast Africa between Britain and Portugal for the region of Delagoa Bay and for the Lake Nyasa region, especially for the Shiré highlands.¹

After the discovery of diamonds Britain stepped up her activity of expansion in Southeast Africa as well. Already in the early seventies she reasserted her claim to Delagoa Bay. But Portugal, supported by France, resisted, and Britain was compelled to back out, contenting herself with the pre-emptive right to the Portuguese colony of Mozambique in case Portugal would in the future decide to sell it.

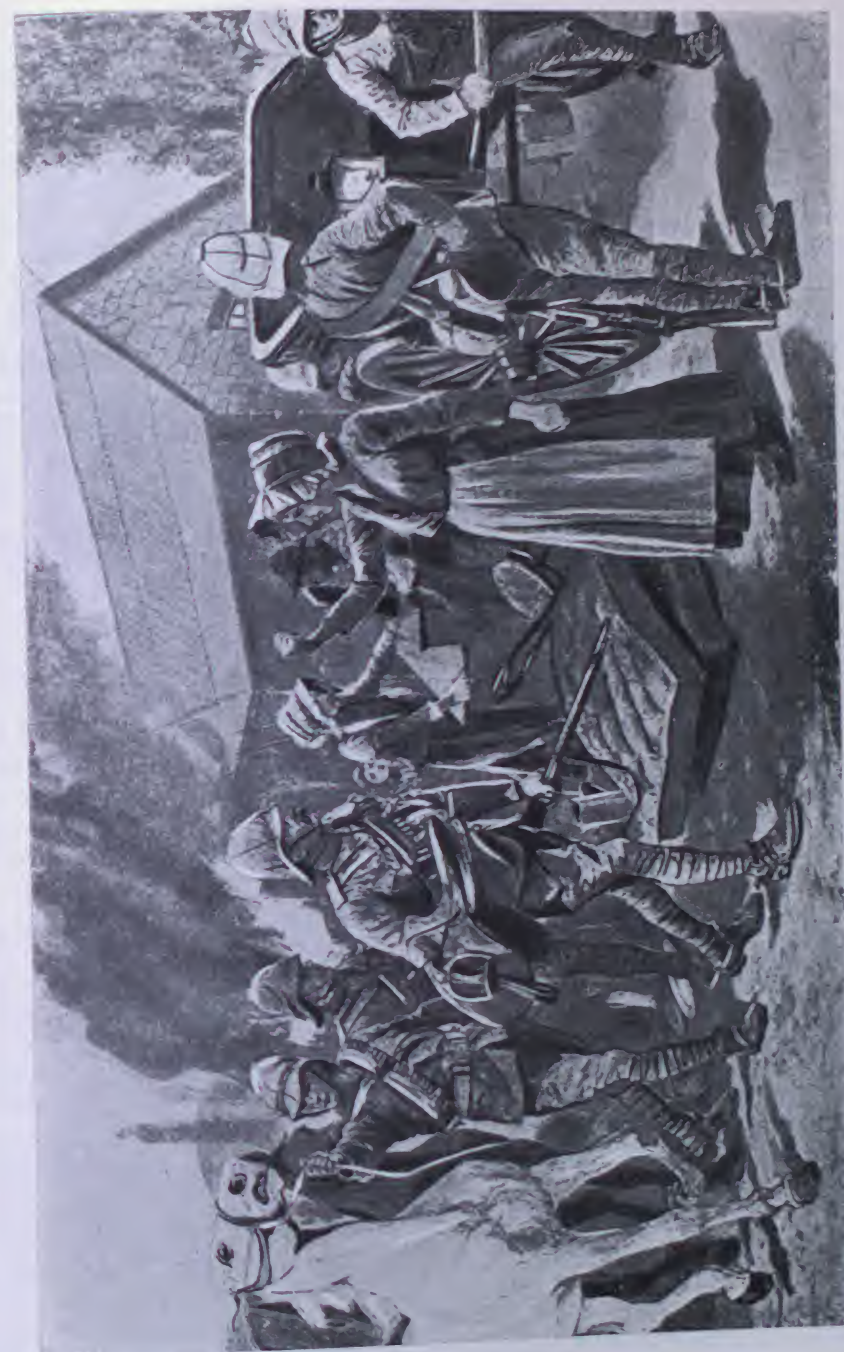
In the Lake Nyasa region Britain during the seventies established many "missionary" stations. In 1878 British missionaries founded a trading agency called the "African Lakes Trading Company", which set about exploiting the natural resources of the country. These British steps promoted Portugal to try to carry out, until it was too late, her old plan of connecting her West African and East African possessions. To this end, a Portuguese expedition under SERPA PINTO was organized from Angola. Its task was to establish contact between the two colonies by seizing for Portugal the Shiré highlands. But this attempt was frustrated by the resistance offered by the Makololo chiefs whom the British won over to themselves.²

In 1883 the British government set up a consulate at Lake Nyasa, and the Company began to "purchase" territory from the African chiefs and in a few years acquired for Britain the entire region on the west and south shores of the lake. In 1887, having met with the opposition of indigenous peoples, Britain, on the pretext of "fighting for the liquidation of the Arab slave trade" in this region of the lake, started a cam-

¹ At the beginning of this period France also took part in this race for the interior regions of Southeast Africa. In addition to the four main directions of her expansionist activity (see pp. 292–293), France persistently tried, through her missionaries and travellers, to penetrate into, and get a foothold in, the basin of the Zambezi. This aspiration took shape, on the one hand, in the activity of the missionaries living with LEWANIKA in Northern Rhodesia (COILLARD) and, on the other, in many journeys of exploration in the Zambezi region. After Northern Rhodesia had been seized by the British South Africa Company and the Anglo-Portuguese dispute at Massikessi had been settled, France was compelled to renounce her plans in this regions.

From among the works of French travellers and missionaries (in addition to the work of COILLARD indicated on p. 393), see A. J. WAUTIER, "Le Zambèze" (*Bull. Soc. géogr.*, 1878); C. A. MALAN, *La mission française au sud de l'Afrique* (Paris, 1878); MANHEIMER, *Du Cap au Zambèze* (Paris, 1884); DURAND, *Une exploration française au Zambèze* (Paris, 1888); GUYOT, *Voyage au Zambèze* (Nancy, 1889); JOUSSE, *La mission au Zambèze* (Paris, 1890).

² See JOHNSTON, *op. cit.*, p. 108.



43. British troops going to pillage and burn down a Boer village (see p. 380)



44. Lobengula, king of the Matabele (see p. 383)

campaign against the recalcitrant tribes, who responded with guerilla war. This war continued until the year 1897.

But soon after this campaign had begun, Britain declared the Shire region a British protectorate (1889). By that time an Anglo-American company had completed the construction of a railway in the south of the Portuguese colony, between Lourenço Marques and the Transvaal frontier. Portugal decided to make a last attempt to save her colonial interests in Southeast Africa. In 1889 she seized this railway line, and in 1890 sent a military expedition to expand her possessions in the highly fertile Manika region (on the Sabi River) with a view to establishing contact with Angola through this region. But the British, who by this time had occupied Rhodesia, decided to resist, and it came to an armed conflict between British and Portuguese troops at Massikessi (September 1890). The Portuguese expedition was crushed and Portugal was compelled to retreat before the stronger competitor.

By the Anglo-Portuguese treaty of June 1891, the frontiers between the British and Portuguese possessions were definitively drawn. Portugal was compelled to give up her plans of linking up Mozambique with Angola. Mozambique remained a Portuguese colony, but a considerable portion of it was given into the possession of the Mozambique Company in which British capital was overwhelmingly interested. The British South Africa Company received permission to build a railway line from Beira into Mashonaland (which was inaugurated in 1899), and later (1900) Portugal paid about £1,000,000 for the railway she had seized in 1889.

During the nineties the African tribes twice rose in revolt in the Portuguese colony of Mozambique. The Zulus of Gazaland under Chief GUNGUNYAMA waged a war of liberation from 1893 to 1896, and the Makua tribes launched a revolt in 1896 which lasted for years on end.

From the early nineties onwards the British "Commissioner" of the Lake Nyasa region began to allot to British colonists the lands "acquired" from tribal chiefs, and in 1893 the entire region of Lake Nyasa was declared British possession under the name of "British Central Africa Protectorate".

Swaziland

The small country of the Swazi tribes in the hinterland of Delagoa Bay constituted a buffer encircled by the two Boer republics, by Natal and Mozambique. Being a country rich in precious minerals, it attracted many European colonists and gold-diggers from the end of the seventies onward. During the eighties the Swazi chief, as already mentioned, signed away the whole country by selling one and the same land even several times, which resulted in many frictions between the concessionaires. Among the latter there were many Transvaal Boers, who hoped to obtain a way out to the sea through Swaziland.

In the late eighties and the early nineties Swaziland was a bone of contention between Britain and the Boers. But by 1899 it had turned out that, apart from the various concessions, the chief had sold the entire country to the South African Republic for £12,000. After a great deal of haggling, Britain in 1894 agreed to Swaziland being proclaimed a protectorate of the South African Republic, yet she refused to cede even a narrow strip of land for access to the sea between Swaziland and the coast.

In the prewar years (1895-98) the Boers conducted several campaigns to "pacify" the Swazi tribes, which would by no means acquiesce in the occupation of their country, even though it had been occupied with the consent of their paramount.

German missionary and trading activity, which had begun as early as the sixties, called the attention of Britain to Southwest Africa. In the middle of the seventies the administration of Cape Colony entered into talks with the chiefs of the Khoi-Khoi and Herero tribes about the recognition of the British protectorate. But it all came to nothing. Then in 1878 Britain declared the annexation of Walvis Bay.

In the seventies and the early eighties the German government was still against openly admitting that it aimed at colonial conquests. But German merchants continued expanding their possessions in Southwest Africa. From the beginning of 1883 onwards they already did so with the tacit support of their government.

A Bremen merchant, LÜDERITZ, in April 1883 "purchased" from a local chief the Bay of Angra Pequena with an adjoining territory (of about 150 square miles) for £80 and 200 old rifles. In August he bought the entire coast between the Orange River and 26°S. with its hinterland reaching 20 geographical miles inland (about 750 square miles) for £500 and 60 rifles.

In the second half of 1883 BISMARCK already decided to occupy Southwest Africa, but in order to prevent Britain from forestalling him, in his declarations made to the British government he denied having the intention of establishing German colonies. The British government, in its turn, kept assuring Germany that it did not intend to create British colonies in that region, and at the same time instructed the government of Cape Colony to declare Southwest Africa to be British possession. No sooner had this instruction been carried out than, in April 1884, BISMARCK decided to act openly and declared LÜDERITZ's possessions a German protectorate.

Britain first protested, but in June at last recognized the German protectorate.

Then the German government, which had just assured Britain that it was only a question of placing the already existing merchant settlement under the protection of the German Reich, sent its warships down the entire southwest coast and in two months (July-August) occupied all important points on the coast from the Angolan border to the Orange River, where no German settlements had thus far existed. Nevertheless, Britain consented to this too.

Now the only pursuit of Britain was to prevent the Germans from expanding their possessions towards the Boer republics, the more so because the Germans began to "acquire" from the African tribes ever new vast territories in the interior, advancing eastward. Therefore Britain in 1884 sent from Cape Colony a military expedition into Bechuanaland on the pretext of "protecting" the Bechuana tribes from the Boer inroads. This vast territory (of 720,000 square kilometres) was of no practical importance to Britain, its greater part being the Kalahari Desert. Yet Britain needed it as a buffer between the Germans and the Boers. And in 1885 Britain occupied it, declaring its greater half a British protectorate, and making the lesser part a British "crown colony".

In December 1884 Germany and Britain reciprocally recognized each other's conquests, defining 20°E. as the boundary between the German and British possessions. This meant the final partition of Southwest Africa.

Resistance of the Tribes of Southwest Africa to German Occupation. German Intrigues and the First War against Witbooi

The effective occupation of Southwest Africa took the Germans about ten years. The peoples of Southwest Africa — especially the Khoi-Khoi and Herero tribes of

the coastal region — did not recognize the "treaties" and "agreements" signed by their corrupted and misled chiefs. When the Germans proceeded to occupy effectively those territories, they came up against stubborn resistance. In the course of ten years they had many armed conflicts and small wars with the various Khoi-Khoi and Herero tribes. And the Germans, although their military forces stationed in the colony during the first few years of the struggle were insignificant, came off victorious because they took advantage of the intertribal frictions of the Africans.¹ They succeeded not only in preventing a union either of the Khoi-Khoi with the Hereros or of the various Khoi-Khoi tribes among them, but they sometimes managed to set the tribes against one another and to make use of them as "allies" in subjugating other tribes.

In the early nineties the chief of a Khoi-Khoi tribe, HENDRIK WITBOOI, united several Khoi-Khoi tribes and started a war of liberation against the German usurpers. The war ended only in 1894, when the German government sent military reinforcements to the colony. WITBOOI was defeated and had to acquiesce in the German domination. Thereafter minor skirmishes with the various Khoi-Khoi and Herero tribes continued, but major military operations did not occur until 1903.

In the poor natural conditions of the country and amidst engagements with the aborigines, there could be no question of any development of the colonial economy. The German settlers were still very few in numbers. And almost the only form of the economy was, just as with the local inhabitants, sheep-breeding. And a raging epidemic in 1897 destroyed most of the sheep of both the colonists and the Africans.

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¹ After peace had been restored between the Namaqua (JONKER AFRIKANER) and the Hereros (KAMAHHERO), the struggle of the two tribes was soon resumed and ended in total defeat for the Namaqua. By that time, however, in their place emerged another outstanding Khoi-Khoi tribe, a mixed tribe called the Witbooi after their chiefs, MOSES (the father) and HENDRIK (the son) WITBOOI. Under the guidance of these two chiefs the Witbooi continued the traditional struggle of the Namaqua against the Hereros. The struggle went on with varied success. After establishing their colony the Germans at first supported the Hereros against the Witbooi.

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45. Ranavalona III, queen of Madagascar (see pp. 396—397)



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CHAPTER VIII

MADAGASCAR

Reforms in the Hova Kingdom and French Provocations

After concluding peace with Britain and France, the Hova government continued its policy of taking advantage of the Anglo-French rivalry. It threw the doors wide open to foreign merchants and allowed missionaries of both powers free access to the country. It remained inflexible in one respect only — foreigners were not allowed to buy land. This prohibition was firmly upheld. Foreigners could obtain land at best on long lease. At the same time the government did its utmost to consolidate the country by internal reforms, the most significant of them being the suppression of slavery and the creation of an army after the European model.

The country embarked upon the path of rapid economic and cultural progress. From the late seventies onward, however, France resumed her attacks upon the independence of Madagascar. She tried to provoke a conflict in order to have an excuse for occupying the country. But the Hova government, with RAINILAIARIVONI at its head, manoeuvred in a tactful and wise manner, and even the occupation of a few districts did not divert it from making proposals for an amicable settlement of the differences. To this end, it sent a delegation to Paris, but France did not want peace, she was longing for war.

The negotiations that began in Paris in 1882 gave no result whatever, and early in 1883 France attacked the Hovas without bothering to make a formal declaration of war.

The First War between France and the Hova Kingdom (1883—85)

The Hovas did not wish for war, yet they were ready to make it. They offered heroic and fierce resistance. The French behaved in a very cruel and barbarous manner. They constantly bombarded the civil population, destroying and burning whole villages and massacring their peaceful inhabitants. Despite their great technical superiority over the young Hova army, this latter resisted with success and inflicted several defeats upon the aggressors. Britain, which was interested in preventing France from occupying the island, sent some aid to the Hova government in the form of war material. In addition, the commander-in-chief of the Hova army was an Englishman, WILLOUGHBY.

The war lasted two years and a half, and ended without bringing victory to either of the belligerents. In summer 1884 the French high command still rejected the Hovas' peace offer. But it was unable to deal a decisive blow at the Hovas, and the position of the French forces deteriorated so much so that in the autumn of 1885 France was compelled to conclude peace.

The 1885 Treaty

In the treaty of peace concluded in December 1885, France recognized the independence of Madagascar, the sovereignty of the Hovas over the whole island, and the law forbidding foreigners to buy land. On the other hand, the Hova government engaged itself not to conclude any treaty on concessions with a third power, and not to enter into alliance with a third power, without the preliminary consent of France. Since, however, some significant provisions in the treaty were not clear enough, the Hova government refused to sign it, demanding a more precise wording of its obligations. This was then made in a separate document which was signed by the representative of France and annexed to the treaty. The Hova government accepted the treaty on the understanding that the appendix was part and parcel of it. Later on, however, the French government refused to acknowledge the appendix, interpreting the text of the treaty to the effect that the Hovas had consented to total French control over all foreign relations of Madagascar in both the diplomatic and economic fields. This trick of France met with the energetic opposition of the Hova government. In opposing the economic demands of the French and resisting their renewed attempts at occupation, the Hova government was not alone: it enjoyed the support of the entire people.

The Anglo-French Treaty of 1890

The Hovas had to face, not only the French, but also British intrigues. After the conclusion of peace between the Hova Kingdom and France, the British presented their bill for the aid they had given, demanding the monopoly of the customs, mining concessions, etc. But the British government soon had to understand that, in view of France's economic and political position in Madagascar and of the opposition of the Hovas themselves, Britain was unable to compete with France in the economic seizure of the island. Then it decided to use Madagascar for petty ends. By a treaty with France concluded in August 1890, Britain accepted the French interpretation of the 1885 treaty and recognized the French protectorate over Madagascar in exchange for France's recognition of the British protectorate over Zanzibar.

The Second War of France against the Hova Kingdom (1895). Annexation of Madagascar

Getting rid of her rival, France grew ever more aggressive. Convinced that the Hovas and their leaders would not fall for blackmail, late in 1894 she decided to subjugate the country by force, taking for a convenient pretext that the Hova government had violated the 1885 treaty. Early in 1895 a strong French military expedition landed in Madagascar and advanced on Tamatave. After eight months of heroic resistance the Hova army was vanquished by the far stronger adversary, and RANAVALONA III¹ had to conclude peace with France, accepting the French protectorate and allowing France to keep armed forces on the island. RAINILAIARIVONI was exiled to Algiers (where he died of an "unknown malady" in 1896). Three months later (January 1896) the French government declared the treaty she had just signed

¹ RANAVALONA II had died in 1883, the first year of the war, and was succeeded by her niece, RANAVALONA III.

to be erroneous, refused to acknowledge it and obliged the queen to sign a unilateral document declaring Madagascar to have been ceded to France as a colony. RANAVALONA's title was left intact, and her State apparatus was maintained, though under the control of a French governor-general.

"Pacification" of Madagascar by General Galliéni. Liquidation of the Hova Kingdom

RANAVALONA was under compulsion to sign the treaty recognizing the sovereignty of France. But the peoples of Madagascar did not sign anything, and from the spring of 1896 onwards revolt followed revolt in the island. Punitive expeditions were sent to Madagascar under the command of General GALLIÉNI.

In February 1897 General GALLIÉNI proclaimed the dethronement of Queen RANAVALONA (alleging that she had maintained secret contacts with the rebels), and the Hova Kingdom was liquidated. Queen RANAVALONA was exiled to the island of Réunion (and later to Algiers). All the measures taken by GALLIÉNI were later approved by the French Parliament. But, although central power was lost, the Malagasy people pursued a guerilla war for over two more years until, at the price of tens of thousands of Malagasy lives, the French troops under the command of two generals, GALLIÉNI and LYAUTEY, succeeded in "pacifying" the island.

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